THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN;

FROM

THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST UNTIL

THE YEAR M.DC.XLVIII.

ENDEAVOURED

BY THOMAS FULLER, D.D.

PREBENDARY OF SARUM.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN.

THE SEVENTH BOOK,

CONTAINING THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LEICESTER DEVEREUX,

VISCOUNT HEREFORD, LORD FERRARS OF CHARTLEY, &c.[a]

My Lord,

GREAT was the difference betwixt the breeding of Adonijah and Solomon, though sons to the same father: the former tasted not of reproof, much less of correction; it being never said unto him, *Why hast thou done so*[b]*?*

Solomon had his education on severer principles; he was his parents' darling, not their fondling[c]. It was after sounded in his ears, *What my son, and what the son of my womb*[d]*?*

Our English gentry too often embrace the first

[a] [Sir Walter, the fifth viscount, son and heir of sir Edward Devereux, succeeded to the title in 1646, and died in 1661. He was one of the peers sent by parliament to wait on king Charles II. at the Hague, in 1660. See Clarendon, vii. 499 His son Leicester succeeded him; but I think that Fuller has mistaken the son's name for the father's.]

[b] 1 Kings, i. 6.

[c] Prov iv. 3.

[d] Prov. xxxi. 2.

course in breeding their children, whereby they become old men before they are wise men, because their fathers made them gentlemen before they were men; making them too soon to know the great means they are born to, and too long to be ignorant of any good quality, whereby to acquire a maintenance, in case their estates (as all things are uncertain) should fail or forsake them. Hence it is they are as unable to endure any hardship as David to march in Saul's armour, (*for he had never proved it* [e],) utterly unacquainted therewith.

But your discreet parents, though kind, were not cockering unto you, whom they sent very young into the Low Countries, where in some sort you earned what you eat in no less honourable than dangerous employment. This hath settled the sinews of your soul, and compacted the joints thereof, which in too many hang loose, as rather tacked than knit together.

Since being returned into England, partly by your patrimony, partly by your matrimony, an ancient and fair estate hath accrued unto you; yet it hath not grown (as St. Basil fancieth roses in Paradise before Adam's fall) without thorns and prickles. Many molestations attended it, through which you have waded in a good measure; having had trials indeed, wherein, on what side soever the verdict went, you gained patience and experience.

[e] 1 Sam. xvii. 39.

Indeed, there is an experience, the mistress of fools, which they learn by their losses, and those caused by their own carelessness or wilfulness in managing their affairs; but also there is one, the masterpiece of wise men to attain, wherein they observe the events of all things, after their utmost endeavours have submitted the success to Divine Providence. Yours is of the last and best kind, whereby you are become a skilful master of defence, knowing all the advantageous postures and guards in our laws, not thereby to vex others, but save yourself from vexation.

Thus having borne the yoke in your youth, you may the better afford ease and repose to your reduced age; and having studied many men in arms, more in gowns, you now may solace yourself, and entertain the time with perusing of books; amongst which I humbly request this may have the favour of your honour's eye, to whom, on a double motive, it is dedicated: first, because containing the life of that prince who for his piety may be exemplary to all persons of quality; secondly, because it was he who conferred the highest (still remaining) honour on your family, advancing it (formerly very ancient amongst the barons) to the degree and dignity of viscounts; wherein that it may long flourish in plenty and happiness, is the daily prayer of

Your Honour's most obliged Servant,

THOMAS FULLER.

[In the reign of Edward VI., Fuller has generally followed sir John Hayward's Life of that prince, from him he has admitted several anecdotes into this book, which rest upon no better authority than that historian's word; of whose history, and the mistakes contained in it, the reader may see a review by Strype in his Mem. ii. 470. Sir John Hayward's Life of this prince was first published in 4to, Lond. 1630; reprinted in 12mo, Lond. 1636, with an Appendix, containing "The Beginning of "the Reign of Queen Elizabeth." The latter is the edition here used. The book has been several times reprinted; among others, by bishop Kennet in his Complete History of England.]

THE

CHURCH HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN.

BOOK VII.

KING Henry the Eighth, though dying excommunicate in the church of Rome, had, notwithstanding, his obsequies solemnly performed at Paris in France, by the command of Francis the French king[a], presuming so much on his own power and the pope's patience; otherwise such courtesy to his friend might have cost him a curse to himself. Then began king Edward, his son, to reign, scarce ten years old, full of as much worth as the model of his age could hold. No pen passeth by him without praising him, though none praising him to his full deserts; yea, Sanders himself, having the stink of his railing tongue over-scented with the fragrant ointment of this prince's memory, though jeering him for his want of age, which was God's pleasure and not king Edward's fault, and mocking him for his religion, (the other's highest honour,) alloweth him in other respects large commendations.

A. D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI.

The hopeful beginning of king Edward.

[a] Godwin in Edvardo Sexto, pag. 158=292.

A.D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI.

Peace and prosperity to the Protestants in England.

2. No sooner was he come to the crown, but a peaceable dew refreshed God's inheritance in England, formerly parched with persecution; and this good angel struck off the fetters from many Peters in prison, preserving those who were appointed to die; only Thomas Dobbe, fellow of St. John's in Cambridge, committed to the Compter in Bread Street, and condemned for speaking against the mass, died of a natural death, in respect of any public punishment by law inflicted on him; but whether or no any private impression of violence hastened his end, God alone knoweth. His speedy death prevented the pardon which the lord protector intended to send him[b]: Divine Providence so ordering it, that he should touch, not enter; see, not taste;

[b] Fox, Acts &c., II. 655. [He was committed, not for merely speaking against the mass, but for interrupting the service in St. Paul's Church, when a priest was employed in elevating the host; "for which cause straight-"way he was apprehended by "the mayor, and afterward ac-"cused to the archbishop of "Canterbury, and committed "to the Compter, then in Bread "Street; where he not long "continued, but falling into a "sickness, how or whereupon "I cannot tell, shortly upon "the same changed this mortal "life; whose pardon, notwith-"standing, was obtained of the "lord protector, and should "have been brought him if he "had continued." Fox, II. 655. This person was acting contrary to law; for, as it will be seen by the King's Injunctions immediately following, (artt. xxi. xxiii.) the mass was still allowed in churches as it was in the last reign; and in art. xxvii. of the same injunctions, all having care of churches are commanded "to "instruct and teach in their "cures that no man ought ob-"stinately and maliciously to "break and violate the laudable "ceremonies by the king com-"manded to be observed, *and* "*as yet not abrogated.*" The administration of the eucharist, according to the present use of the church of England, was appointed on the 13th of March, 1548, the parliament having resolved that such use was most agreeable "to the first institu-"tion and use of the primitive "church." See the letters from the council to the bishops for that purpose, Fox, II. 659. And accordingly, on the 6th of April, a proclamation was made that the ancient form should be disused throughout the realm. Stow, 596]

behold, not reap benefit on earth of this Reformation. Other confessors which had fled beyond sea, as John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, &c.[c], returned with joy into their country; and all Protestants, which formerly for fear had dissembled their religion, now publicly professed the same: of these, archbishop Cranmer was the chiefest; who, though willingly he had done no ill, and privately many good offices for the Protestants, yet his cowardly compliance hitherto with popery, against his conscience, cannot be excused; serving the times present in his practice, and waiting on a future alteration in his hopes and desires. A. D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI.

3. Edward Semaure, the king's uncle, lately made lord protector and duke of Somerset, ordered all in church and state[d]. He, by the king's power, or, if you please, the king in his protection, took speedy order for reformation of religion; and being loth that the people of the land should live so long in error and ignorance, till a parliament should be solemnly summoned, (which for some reasons of state could not so quickly be called,) in the mean time, by his own regal power and authority, and the advice of his wise and honourable council, chose commissioners, and sent them with instructions into several Commissioners sent into several counties with instructions to reform.

[c] Sanders, de Schis. Anglic. p. 181=193.

[d] [Burnet, II. 8. Strype's Mem. II. 16. The earl of Hertford, who was the eldest brother of the king's mother, was proclaimed protector the 1st of February, by an herald at arms, and sound of trumpet through the city of London On the 17th of the same month he was created duke of Somerset. (Holinshed, 979. Stow, 593-4.) The letters patent confirming the protectorship to him, and dated 13th March, are printed in Burnet, II. 142. He was to enjoy this almost unlimited power, greater, perhaps, than any subject ever had, till the king accomplished the age of eighteen years. See Burnet, II. 35. Stow, h.]

THE UNIVERSITY
RECEIVED ON

A D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI. parts of the kingdom, for the rooting out of superstition; the substance whereof (thirty-six in number) we have here presented [e]:

The King's Injunctions [f].

i. "That all ecclesiastical persons observe the "laws for the abolishing the pretended and usurped "power of the bishop of Rome, and confirmation of "the king's authority and supremacy.

ii. "That, once a quarter at least, they sincerely "declare the word of God, dissuading their people "from superstitious fancies of pilgrimages, praying "to images, &c.; exhorting them to the works of "faith, mercy, and charity.

[e] [In the beginning of September, 1547, the protector and the rest of the council appointed a royal visitation for furthering the progress of the Reformation: thirty commissioners were thereupon named, who were to divide the different counties among themselves. Their names and circuits are enumerated in Strype's Cr. 146. Accordingly, in the month of May, (as Strype affirms,) royal letters were issued to the archbishops and bishops to forbear their visitation, as was usually done in all royal and archiepiscopal visitations; and in the interim a Book of Injunctions, of which an abstract is here given, was prepared, whereby the king's visitors should direct their visitation. These were also accompanied with a book of articles, printed at the same time, called "Articles to be inquired of in "the King's Majesty's Visitation." These articles were twice printed in 1547, by Grafton, and are reprinted in Strype's Mem. ii. 48. One thing is not a little remarkable in this visitation, that being entirely a civil commission, without a single bishop among the number, it should be vested with power of summoning before it all bishops, and examine them as well as others concerning their lives and doctrines.]

[f] [According to Strype, Cr 146, the original of these injunctions is preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, signed by Cranmer and others of the privy council. They have been frequently printed, at full length, by Grafton, in 1547; in Fox, 684, ed. 1st; in Sparrow's Collections, ii. p. 1; in Wilkins, iv. 3; in Cranmer's Works, iv. 327. In many points they resemble the injunctions set forth in 1536.]

iii. "That images abused with pilgrimages and "offerings thereunto be forthwith taken down and "destroyed, and that no more wax candles or tapers "be burnt before any image; but only two lights "upon the high altar before the sacrament shall "remain still, to signify that Christ is the very light "of the world. A.D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI.

iv. "That every holy day, when they have no "sermon, the Paternoster, Credo, and Ten Com-"mandments shall be plainly recited in the pulpit "to the parishioners.

v. "That parents and masters bestow their chil-"dren and servants either to learning or some honest "occupation.

vi. "That such who, in cases expressed in the "statute, are absent from their benefices, leave "learned and expert curates.

vii. "That within three months after this visita-"tion the Bible of the largest volume in English, "and within twelve months Erasmus his Paraphrase "on the Gospel, [in English,] be provided and con-"veniently placed in the church, for people to read "therein.

viii. "That no ecclesiastical persons haunt ale-"houses or taverns, or any place of unlawful "gaming.

ix. "That they examine such who come to con-"fession to them in Lent, whether they can recite "their Creed, Paternoster, and Ten Commandments[g] "in English before they receive the blessed sacra-"ment of the altar, or else they ought not to pre-"sume to come to God's board.

[g] [In the original, "the articles of their faith."]

A.D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI

x. "That none be admitted to preach, except "sufficiently licensed.

xi. "That if they have heretofore extolled pil- "grimages, relics, worshipping of images, &c., they "now openly recant and reprove the same as a com- "mon error, groundless in scripture.

xii. "That they detect and present such who are "letters of the word of God in English, and fautors "of the bishop of Rome his pretended power.

xiii. "That a register-book be carefully kept in "every parish for weddings, christenings, and burials.

xiv. "That all ecclesiastical persons not resident "upon their benefices, and able to dispend yearly "twenty pounds and above, shall, in the presence of "the churchwardens or some other honest men, "distribute the fortieth part of their revenues "amongst the poor of the parish.

xv. "That every ecclesiastical person shall give "competent exhibition to so many scholars in one of "the universities as he hath hundred pounds a year "in church promotions.

xvi. "That the fifth part of their benefices be "bestowed on their mansion-houses or chancels, till "they be fully repaired.

xvii. "That he readeth these injunctions once a "quarter.

xviii. "That none bound to pay tithes detain them "by colour of duty omitted by their curates, and so "redoub one wrong with another.

xix. "That no person henceforth shall alter any "fasting-day that is commanded, or manner of com- "mon prayer or divine service, (otherwise than spe- "cified in these injunctions,) until otherwise ordered "by the king's authority.

xx. "That every ecclesiastical person under the A.D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI.
"degree of bachelor of divinity shall, within three
"months after this visitation, provide of his own the
"New Testament in Latin and English, with Eras-
"mus his Paraphrase thereon[h]; and that bishops
"by themselves, and their officers, shall examine
"them how much they have profited in the study of
"holy scripture.

xxi. "That, in the time of high mass, he that
"sayeth or singeth a psalm shall read the epistle
"and gospel in English, and one chapter in the New
"Testament at matins, and another at evensong [in
"the Old Testament]; and that when nine lessons
"are to be read in the church, three of them shall
"be omitted with responds; and at evensong the
"responds, with all the memories.

xxii. "That, to prevent in sick persons the damn-
"able vice of despair, they shall learn and have

[h] [This English translation of the paraphrase of Erasmus, undertaken, as it appears, at the desire and charge of queen Catherine Parr, (Strype's Mem. II. 130,) was much objected to by the Roman Catholics, especially by Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester. See his letters to the protector, in Fox, II. in init. This translation was the work of several hands. The paraphrase of St. Luke was translated by Nicholas Udal; St. Mark by Thomas Key or Cay, (Wood, Ath. I. 399,) afterwards master of University College, Oxford; St. John by the princess Mary, but she falling sick from overmuch study in it, that part was finished by her chaplain, Dr. Mallet. In 1549, John Old translated the Canonical Epistles, with the Epistles of St. Paul to the Ephesians, Philippians i. and ii., to the Thessalonians i. and ii., to Timothy, and to Philemon. Leonard Cox translated the Epistle to Titus (Wood, Ath. I. 123) The Exposition on the Revelations was not written by Erasmus, but by Leo Jude, in the German language, and was translated by Edmund Allen. The translators of the rest of the book are not known. The first edition, which contained only the Gospel and Acts, appeared about this time, 1547; the rest came forth in 1549, and a second impression in 1552. See Strype's Mem. II. 28—30]

A D 1547
1 Ed. VI.

" always in readiness such comfortable places and " sentences of scripture as do set forth the mercy, " benefits, and goodness of God Almighty towards " all penitent and believing persons.

xxiii. " To avoid all contention and strife which " heretofore have risen amongst the king's subjects, " by challenging of places in procession, no proces- " sion hereafter shall be used about the church or " churchyard; but immediately before high mass the " litany shall be distinctly said or sung in English, " none departing the church without just cause, and " all ringing of bells (save one) utterly forborne [at " that time, except one bell, in convenient time, to " be rung or knolled before the sermon].

xxiv. " That the holy day, at the first beginning " godly instituted and ordained, be wholly given to " God, in hearing the word of God read and taught, " in private and public prayers, in acknowledging " their offences to God, and amendment; in recon- " ciling themselves to their neighbours, receiving " the communion, visiting the sick, &c.; only it shall " be lawful for them, in time of harvest, to labour " upon holy and festival days, and save that thing " which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity to " abstain from working upon those days doth griev- " ously offend God.

xxv. " That no curate admit to the communion " such who are in rancour and malice with their " neighbours, till such controversies be reconciled.

xxvi. " That every dean, archdeacon, &c., being a " priest, preach by himself personally twice a year at " least.

xxvii. " That they instruct their people not ob- " stinately to violate the ceremonies of the church

" by the king commanded to be observed, and not A. D. 1547.
" as yet abrogated; and on the other side, that who- 1 Ed. VI.
" soever doth superstitiously abuse them, doth the
" same to the great peril of his soul's health.

xxviii. " That they take away and destroy all
" shrines, covering of shrines, tables, candlesticks,
" trindles or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and
" other monuments of feigned miracles, so that no
" memory of them remain in walls or windows; ex-
" horting their parishioners to do the like in their
" several houses; and that a comely pulpit be pro-
" vided in a convenient place [i].

xxix. " That a strong chest be provided, with a
" hole in the upper part thereof, (with three keys
" thereunto belonging,) be provided to receive the
" charity of people to the poor, and the same at

[i] [Unfortunately the parishioners were too ready to remove shrines, &c., not *from* their own houses, but from the churches *into* their own houses; so that, as our author expresses it, (book vii sect. ii. §. 1,) "Private men's halls were " hung with altar cloaths, their " tables and beds covered with " copes instead of carpets and " coverlets. Many drank, at " their daily meals, in chalices; " and no wonder if in propor- " tion it came to the share of " their horses to be watered in " rich coffins of marble." This species of plundering was carried to so great an extent, that a commission was appointed in the sixth year of this king's reign, for taking a survey of and making an inquisition into the churches' goods; with what effect, may be seen at the same place of this history; and for what purpose the reader may judge from this entry in king Edward's Journal, June 2, 1551: " It was appointed that I should " receive the Frenchmen that " came hither at Westminster, " where was made preparation " for the purpose, and four " garnish of new vessels taken " out of church-stuff, as mitres, " golden missals, and primers " and crosses and reliques of " Plessay." This desecration of things appointed for religious uses could not fail of producing very evil effects upon the public mind; and they who learned to spurn and think with contempt of the accidentals of religion, soon came to despise the essentials also.]

A. D 1547. 1 Ed VI

"convenient times distributed unto them in the "presence of the parish.

xxx. "That priests be not bound to go to visit "women lying in child-bed, except in times of dan- "gerous sickness; and not to fetch any corpse, "except it be brought to the churchyard.

xxxi. "That to avoid the detestable sin of simony, "the seller shall lose his right of patronage for that "time, and the buyer to be deprived and made "unable to receive spiritual promotion.

xxxii. "That because of the lack of preachers, "curates shall read homilies, which are and shall be "set forth by the king's authority.

xxxiii. "Whereas many indiscreet persons do un- "charitably contemn and abuse priests, having small "learning: his majesty chargeth his subjects that "henceforth they be reverently used, for their office "and ministration sake.

xxxiv. "That all persons not understanding Latin "shall pray on no other primer but what lately "was set forth in English by king Henry the Eighth, "and that such who have knowledge in Latin use "none other also; and that all graces before and "after meat be said in English, and no grammar "taught in schools but what is set forth by au- "thority.

xxxv. "That chantry priests teach youth to read "and write.

xxxvi. "That when any sermon or homily shall "be had, the prime and hours shall be omitted [k]."

[k] [Dr. Bulkely, chaplain to archbishop Sancroft, and Strype's friend, possessed a copy of these injunctions, wherein were certain corrections, as he supposed, by Cranmer himself. The words *high mass* were changed into *the*

The Form of bidding the Common Prayers[1].

"You shall pray for the whole congregation of A. D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI.
"Christ's church, and especially for this church of
"England and Ireland; wherein, first, I commend
"to your devout prayers the king's most excellent
"majesty, supreme head immediately under God of
"the spirituality and temporality of the same
"church; and for queen Katharine dowager; and
"also for my lady Mary and my lady Elizabeth, the
"king's sisters.

"Secondly, you shall pray for the lord protector's
"grace, with all the rest of the king's majesty's
"council; for all the lords of this realm, and for
"the clergy and the commons of the same; beseech-
"ing Almighty God to give every of them, in his
"degree, grace to use themselves in suchwise as
"may be to God's glory, the king's honour, and the
"weal of this realm.

"Thirdly, ye shall pray for all them that be de-

celebration of the holy communion; mass and service changed into *God's service;* injunction xxi. expunged, as also the latter part of the xxixth; also xxxvth and xxxvith were to be expunged, and to the form of bidding prayer is added a prayer for success of the duke of Somerset's expedition against the Scots. Strype's Mem. II. 46.]

[1] [For some account of the forms of bidding prayer, see Burnet, II. 61 That writer has printed the form, such as it was, used in the time of king Henry VII. (II. ii. N. 8.) See also another form, put out in the year 1536, (Wilkins, III. 807,) which is the same as that adopted by bishop Hilsey in his Primer of 1539, he having merely changed the words "the "most noble and virtuous lady "queen Jane, his most lawful "wife," into, "for the pros-"perity of the noble prince "Edward his son," p. 329, (ed. Oxon. 1834.) Ant. Harmer (Wharton) has also published another, from a MS in the Lambeth Library, in his "Spe-"cimen of Errors, &c." p. 166, which is reprinted in Collier, II. App. p. 60.]

A.D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI

"parted out of this world in the faith of Christ, that "they with us, and we with them, at the day of "judgment, may rest both body and soul, with "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of "heaven."

Observations on the King's Injunctions.

The wisdom of our reformers.

Let us here admire God's wisdom in our first reformers, who proceeded so moderately in a matter of so great consequence: to reform all at once, had been the ready way to reform nothing at all. New wine must be gently poured into old bottles, lest the strength of the liquor, advantaged with the violence of the infusion, break the vessel. Jacob could not keep pace with Esau (presumed fleet on foot, as used to hunting) whilst he had in his company the *tender children and flocks with young, which if over-driven one day, would die*[m]. And though no doubt he himself was foot-man enough to go along with his brother, yet he did *lead on softly, according as the cattle and children were able to endure.* Thus our wise reformers reflected discreetly on the infirmities of people, long nouzled in ignorance and superstition, and incapable of a sudden and perfect alteration.

Only two lights left

On this account, in the third injunction, they reduced candles (formerly sans number in churches) to two upon the high altar, before the sacrament: these being termed lights, shews they were not *lumina cæca*, but burning. Know also that at this time there was an universal dilapidation of chancels, and men had seen so many abbey churches plucked down, that they even left parish churches to fall

[m] Gen. xxxiii 13

down on themselves: now to repair them all at once would have stopped the holes in the chancels, and made one in the states of the ministers. It was therefore in the sixteenth injunction ordered, that a fifth part of their means should be employed therein, whereby the work was effectually done without any great damage to the repairers. A. D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI.

By memories appointed to be omitted, (injunction xxi.,) we understand the *obsequia* for the dead, which some say succeeded in the place of the (heathen) Roman *parentalia.* What meant by memories.

The abolishing processions is politicly put on a civil account, (injunction xxiii.,) to avoid contention about places. Indeed people's pride herein consisted in pretended humility, which the injunction at large termeth a fond courtesy; for in a mock practice of the apostle's precept, *in honour preferring one another* [n], they strained courtesy to go last. Where, by the way, I conceive that accounted the highest place which was next the cross-bearer, or next the priest carrying the host. Good policy.

Quære, whether in the xxivth injunction, labouring in time of harvest on holy days and festivals relateth not only to those of ecclesiastical constitution, (as dedicated to saints,) or be inclusive of the Lord's day also [o].

Mr. Calvin, in his letter to the lord protector [p], disliketh the praying for the dead; and this is one Mr. Calvin dissents.

[n] Rom. xii. 12

[o] [It appears so from the practice at this time. See also The Appeal, &c. II. §. 135. Collier, II. 226 Burnet, II 59.]

[p] [Epist. 87, p. 158, ed. Genev. 1576. The offensive words do not occur in that letter, though the subject of the remark does, (p 167,) but in his letter addressed to the English exiles at Frankfort. See his irreverent letter to Coxe, Ep. 206.]

A. D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI. of those things which he termed *tolerabiles ineptias*, englished by some, "tolerable fooleries;" more mildly by others, "tolerable unfitnesses." In requital whereof, bishop Williams was wont to say, that master Calvin had his *tolerabiles morositates* [q].

Moderation goeth far. And thus moderately did our first reformers begin, as the subject they wrote on would give them leave; for as careful mothers and nurses, on condition they can get their children to part with knives, are contented to let them play with rattles, so they permitted ignorant people still to retain some of their fond and foolish customs, that they might remove from them the most dangerous and destructive superstitions.

Come we now to give in a list of such principal

[q] [See his letter from Geneva to Knox and Whittingham, the leaders of the dissenting party at Frankfort; (Troubles at Frankfort, p. 35, Calv Epist. 200) Calvin nowhere specifies what are these "tolerable foolish "things;" and it appears that he knew nothing of the Book of Common Prayer, except from an imperfect abstract of it sent to him in Latin by John Knox It is by no means unlikely that Calvin still felt some resentment for Cranmer's having declined his interference in matters of religion; for in this letter, speaking of Grindall, Haddon, Sands, and the rest of the convention at Strasburg, he says, "Where- "fore I would not have you" (Knox and the others) "fierce "over them, whose infirmity "will not suffer to ascend an "higher step, so would I "advertise other, that they "please not themselves too "much in their foolishness. "But I speak in vain to them "which perchance esteem me "not so well, as they will "vouchsafe to admit the coun- "sel that cometh from such an "author." Knox and his party had sent Calvin a Latin abstract of the Book of Common Prayer; adding, with something very like a falsehood, "that some of their country- "men went about to force "them to the same." The truth was, when this congregation established themselves at Frankfort, they immediately joined the French church, and adopted their ceremonies, and being desirous of some countenance for what they had done, they wrote to the churches in Zurich, Strasburg, and the rest, to come and join them.]

books which in the reign of this king and his father, A. D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI.
as preparatory to and introductive of reformation; and to bring them high enough, we will begin with

Henry the Seventh.

" Prayers printed by the Commandements of the " moost hye and vertuous Princesse our lyege Lady " Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Quene of England " and of France, and also of the right hye and moost " noble Princesse Margarett, mother to our sove- " raign Lord the King, &c." Without the year when printed.

Henry the Eighth.

" The Institution of a Christian Man; contayneng " the Exposition or Interpretation of the Commune " Crede, of the Seaven Sacraments, of the Ten Com- " mandements, and of the Pater Noster, and the " Ave Maria, Justification and Purgatory." [*Londini, in ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti, regii impressoris, an.* M.D.XXXVII. *Cum privilegio.* 4to. Reprinted at Oxford in 1825.]

" A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any " Christen Man, set furthe by the Kynges Majestie " of England, &c." [Imprinted at London, in Fleet Street, by Thomas Barthelet, printer to the king's highness, the xxix. day of May, the year of our Lord M.D.XLIII. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.* By a colophon at the end of the book, it appears that this book was not to be sold above sixteen pence, bound in paper boards or clasps. Reprinted at Oxford in 1825.]

" An epistle of the most mighty and redoubted " Prince Henry the VIII. by the grace of God, king

A. D. 1547. 1 Ed VI. " of England and of France, lord of Ireland, defender " of the faith, and supreme head of the Church of " England next under Christ, written to the Empe- " ror's majesty, to all Christian princes, and to all " those that truly and sincerely profess Christ's reli- " gion." *Londini in ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti, regii impressoris. Excus. anno* M.D.XXXVIII. *Cum privilegio.* 12mo. [Reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany.]

" A Protestation made for the most mighty and " most redoubted king of England, &c. and his hole " counsell and clergie, wherein is declared, that nei- " ther his highnesse, nor his prelates, neyther any " other prince or prelate is bound to come or send " to the pretended councell, that Paul bishop of " Rome, first by a bull indicted at Mantua, a citie " in Italy, and now alate by another bull, hath pro- " roged to a place no man can telle where." [*Londini in ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti, regii impressoris. Excus. anno* M.D.XXXVIII. *Cum privilegio.* 12mo.]

" Articles devised by the Kinges Highnes Majestie " to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge " us, and to avoyde contentious opinions, which " Articles be also approved by the consent and " determination of the hole Clergie of this Realme." London: Thomas Berthelet, 1536. [Reprinted at Oxford in 1825.]

" Injunctions to the Clergie." 1536. M.Sc. [Printed in Wilkins, III. 813.]

" Articles devised by the holle consent of the " Kinges most honourable Counsayle, His Graces " licence opteyned thereto, not only to exhorte, but " also to enfourme His loving Subjects of the trouth." London: Thomas Berthelet. 1539.

" Orarium seu libellus Precationum per Regiam A D. 1547.
" Majestatem et Clerum Latine editus. Ex officina 1 Ed. VI.
" Richard Graftoni." **1545.**

" Pia et Catholica Christiani hominis institutio." *Londini apud Thomam Berthelet.* **1544.**

" Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum ex autho-
" ritate primum Regis Henrici VIII. inchoata, deinde
" per Regem Edwardum VI. provecta adauctaque
" in hunc modum, atque nunc ad pleniorem ipsa-
" rum reformationem in lucem edita[r]." *Londini, ex officina Johannis Daii, anno salutis humanæ* **1571**, *mense Aprili.*

Edward the Sixth.

" Injunctions given by the most excellent prince,
" Edward the Sixt, by the grace of God, king of
" England, France, and Ireland, defendor of the
" fayth, and in yearthe under Christ, of the church
" of England and of Ireland the supreeme hedde;
" To all and singuler his loving subjects, aswell of
" the clergie as of the laietie." [Imprinted at London, the last day of July, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Edward the VI., by Richard Grafton, printer to his most royal majesty. *Anno* **1547**. *Cum privilegio*, &c. 4to [s].]

" Articles to be enquired of in the Kynges Ma-
" jesties visitation." By Richard Grafton. *Cum privilegio* [t].

" The Order of the Communion, with the Procla-

[r] [This book was reprinted at London in 1640, in 4to. An excellent abstract of its contents is given by Collier in his Eccl. Hist. II. 326. See also below]

[s] [Printed in Wilkins, IV 11, and in Sparrow. Of the publication of this book, see Strype, Mem. II 61.]

[t] [See note, p. 12]

A. D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI. "mation." [Dated March 8.] London: by Richard Grafton. 1548 [u].

"The Booke of the Common Prayer and Admi-
"nistration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and
"Ceremonies of the Church: after the Use of the
"Church of England [x]." *Londini, in officina Eduardi Whitchurche. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. Anno Dom.* 1549, *mense Junii.* Fol.

"Communion Book, translated into French for
"Jersey and Garnesey." 1553.

"The forme and manner of making and conse-
"crating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." 1549 and 1552.

"The Copie of a Letter sent to all those Preachers
"which the Kings Majestie hath licensed to preach,
"from the Lord Protectors Grace, and other of the
"Kinges Majesties most honourable Councell." The 23d of May, 1548. [In Wilkins, IV. 27, and in Burnet, II. App. 130.]

"Catechismus brevis, Christianæ disciplinæ sum-
"mam continens, omnibus ludimagistris authoritate
"Regia commendatus [y]." *Londini*, 1553.

"Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, 1552,
"ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem et consen-
"sum veræ religionis firmandum, inter Episcopos et
"alios eruditos atque pios viros convenerat: Regia

[u] [Twice printed in 1647. See note, p. 603.]

[x] [Many different editions of this book were printed between the years 1549 and 1552, when the Revision was put out.]

[y] [Of this Catechism, which has been attributed to Nowell, but now is more generally thought to have been written by Poinet, successively bishop of Rochester and Winchester, see the Preface to Nowell's Catechism, (Oxford, 1835,) p. 25. An English translation of it was printed the same year as the original Latin.]

" similiter authoritate promulgati." *Londini.* [In Wilkins, IV. 73.] A. D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI.

"The Primer or Booke of Prayers," translated out of Henry VIII.'s Orarium. London: by Richard Grafton, 1547.

" Certain Sermons or Homilies, [viz. the first part " of the Church Homilies,] appointed by the Kinges " Majestie to be declared and read by all Parsons, " Vicars, or Curates, everie Sonday, in their churches " where they have cure." Imprinted at London, in Fleet Street, at the sign of the Lion over against the Conduit, by Edward Whitchurche, the xxth day of August, in the year of our Lord 1547. *Cum privilegio*, &c. 4to.

" A Primer or Booke of private Prayer, &c. in the " 7 yeare of Ed. VI." *Ex officina Wilhelmi Seres*, 1552.

Queen Mary.

" The Primer in Latin and English, after the use " of Sarum." London, 1555.

" Edm. Bonners Catechisme, 1555, with Homelies " composed by H. Pendleton and Jo. Harpesfield." London, 1555[z].

These are the principal state-books which that age produced, not mentioning such (as numberless)

[z] [In imitation of the king's book, called " A Necessary " Doctrine, &c." Bonner put forth a book, treating of the same subjects and in the same order, with the following title: " A Profitable and Necessary " Doctrine, with certain Ho- " milies adjoined thereunto, set " forth by the reverend Father " in God, Edmunde Bishop of " London, for the Instruction " and Information of the People " living within his Diocese of " London, and of his Cure and " Charge Excusum Londini " in ædibus Johannis Cawodi, " Typographi regiæ Majesta- " tis." 4to. No date.]

A. D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI. which private persons set forth; only I cannot as yet recover the lord Cromwell's Catechisme, except it be concealed under another name, amongst the books aforementioned.

4. Come we now to the Liturgy, which in the reign of king Henry the Eighth was said or sung all in Latin, save only the Creed, Paternoster, and Ten Commandments, put into English by the king's command, *anno* 1536 [a]. Nine years after, viz. 1545, the Litany was permitted in English; and this was the farthest pace which the Reformation stepped in the reign of king Henry the Eighth. But under his son, king Edward the Sixth, a new form of divine worship was set forth in the vulgar tongue, which passed a threefold purgation [b].

[a] [See Cromwell's Injunctions, published that year. Burnet, Ref. I. p. 452.]

[b] [In this Fuller is mistaken, confounding the Order for the Administration of the Communion, which was first put out in 1547, with the first Common Prayer Book of 1549. His error was corrected by Dr. Heylin, in the Appeal, §. 136, who observes that in the first parliament of this king there passed a statute (1 Edw. VI. c. 1.) entitled, "An Act "against such as speak against "the Sacrament of the Altar, "and for the Receipt thereof "in both kinds." "Upon the "coming out whereof, the king "being no less desirous," as Fox relates it, "to have the "form of administration of the "sacrament reduced to the "right rule of the scriptures "and first use of the primitive "church, than he was to establish the same by authority "of his own regal acts, appointed certain of the most "grave and learned bishops to "assemble together at his castle of Windsor, there to "argue and entreat of this "matter, and conclude upon "and set forth one perfect and "uniform order, according to "the rule and use aforesaid, "which book was printed and "set out March 8th, 1548," (which is 1547 according to the account of the church of England.) "The Liturgy came "not out till near two years "after." The two prayer-books of Edward VI have been reprinted lately at Oxford, with a learned preface by Dr. Cardwell. An account of their compilation, with a breviate of their contents, will also be found in Downe's edition of Sparrow's Rationale, App. p. cl., p. clxxix, and p. cxcvii.]

A. D. 1547. 1 Ed VI.

The first Edition of the Liturgy or Common Prayer; [rather, of the Communion Service[b].]	*The second Edition of the Liturgy or Common Prayer.*	*The third Edition of the Liturgy or Common Prayer.*
In the first year of king Edward the Sixth, it was recommended to the care of the most grave bishops and others, (assembled by the king at his castle at Windsor,) and when by them completed, set forth in print, 1548, with a proclamation in the king's name to give authority thereunto; being also recommended unto every bishop, by especial letters from the lords of the council[c], to see the same put in execution. And in the next year a penalty was imposed by act of parliament on such who should deprave or neglect the use thereof[d].	Some exceptions being taken by Mr. Calvin abroad and some zealots at home, at the former Liturgy, the book was brought under a review, and by a statute in parliament[e] it was appointed, That it should be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect[f]:	In the first of queen Elizabeth, 1559, it was committed by the queen to the care of some learned men, by whom it was altered in some few passages, and so presented to the parliament, and by them received and established.
Persons employed therein[g].	*Persons employed therein.*	*Persons employed therein.*
1. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury 2. George Day, bishop of Chichester 3. Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely. 4. John Skip, bishop of Hereford 5 Henry Holbeach, bishop of Lincoln. 6 Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester. 7. Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster. 8 Doctor May, dean of St Paul's. 9 John Taylor, then dean (afterwards bishop) of Lincoln [May 10, 1552[h]]. 10. Doctor Haines, dean of Exeter 11. Doctor Robertson, afterwards dean of Durham 12 Doctor John Redmayne, master of Trinity College in Cambridge 13. Doctor Richard Cox, then almoner to the king, afterwards bishop of Ely.	We meet not with their particular names, but may probably conceive they were the same with the former, for the main, though some might be superadded by royal appointment	1 Master Whitehead, once chaplain to queen Anna Bullen. 2. Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. 3. Edmund Grindall, afterwards bishop of London 4 Richard Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely 5. James Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham 6 Doctor May, dean of St Paul's, and master of Trinity College in Cambridge 7 Sir Thomas Smith, principal secretary of estate. 8 [Dr Bill, dean of Westminster.]

[b] [Strype, Mem. II. 83.]

[c] See the form of them in Fox, II. 661.

[d] [Burnet, II. 147.]

[e] 5 and 6 of Edward the Sixth, cap. 1 [A. D. 1552.]

[f] [See above, p. 24. Burnet, II 319, 349. Stow, 608.]

[g] [Strype appears to doubt of the correctness of this list. See his Mem II. 85, 302.]

[h] [King Edward's Journ. 76.]

A.D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI. As for the fourth and last edition of the Liturgy, in the first of king James, 1603, with some small alterations in the rubric, after the conference at Hampton Court, thereof (God willing) in due time hereafter.

5. The book of books still remains: I mean the Bible itself. Know then that some exceptions being taken at Tindal's translation, the bishops (then generally popish) complied so far in a conference with the desires of king Henry the Eighth [i], that on condition the people would give in Tindal's pretended false translation, they would set forth another, better agreeing with the original; and although this took up some time to effect, (the work being great in itself, and few workmen as yet masters of the mystery of printing,) yet at last it was accomplished, but more purely and perfectly done in after ages, as by the ensuing parallels will appear.

The first Translation of the Bible.	*The second Translation of the Bible.*	*The third Translation of the Bible.*
Set forth in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, anno 1541, countenanced with a grave and pious preface of archbishop Cranmer, and authorized by the king's proclamation, dated May the 6th Seconded also with instructions from the king [k], to prepare people to receive benefit the better from so heavenly a treasure, it was called The Bible of the greater Volume, rather commended than commanded to people. Few country parishes could go to the cost of them, though bishop Bonner caused six of them to be chained in the church of St Paul's, in convenient places	Set forth in the reign of king Edward the Sixth, and not only suffered to be read by particular persons, but ordered to be read over yearly in the congregation, as a principal part of divine service. Two several editions I have seen thereof; one set forth 1549, the other 1551, but neither of them divided into verses.	Set forth in the second of queen Elizabeth. The last translation was again reviewed by some of the most learned bishops, (appointed thereunto by the queen's commission,) whence it took the name of the Bishops' Bible; and by the queen's sole commandment reprinted, and left free and open to all her well-affected subjects

[i] Set down at large in the Register of archbishop Warham.

[k] Extant in sir Thomas Cotton's library.

As for the last and best translation of the Bible, in the reign of king James, by a select company of divines employed therein, in due time (by God's assistance) largely thereof. A.D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI.

6. And now we shall come to small game, rather than shut out; not caring how low we descend, so be it we may satisfy the reader and inform posterity, presenting a catalogue of such proclamations which the king set forth in the four first years, having any tendency or relation to ecclesiastical matters [l].

i. "A Proclamation concerning the effectuall pay-"ment of Pensions, due out of the Court of Aug-"mentations, to any late Abbot, Prior, &c.," which it seemeth lately were detained. *Anno* 1 *Edvardi Sexti*, Septem. 18.

ii. "A Proclamation concerning the irreverent "Talkers of the Sacrament [m];" for, after the Tran-

[l] [All these proclamations, with the rest passed in the first four years of this reign, were published by "Richard Grafton, "printer to the king's majesty," in 1550. 12mo. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. These here printed are corrected from a copy of that book in the library of Queen's College, Oxford. I mention this, as Burnet doubts the authenticity of the 6th, and certainly never saw, as neither did Strype, the 5th. Burnet, II 167.]

[m] [Printed at length in Wilkins, IV. 18. Strype's Mem. II. 14, App. This was in conformity with an act passed at this time touching the communion, in the preamble to which it is stated that the holy sacrament "having been of late mar-"vellously abused, some had "been thereby brought to a "contempt of it, which they "had expressed in sermons, "discourses, and songs, *in* "*words not fit to be repeated.*" See Burnet, II 84. Authentic Coll. of the Stat. IV. ii. p. 2. This was a most seasonable enactment; for the disputes upon this holy subject, even among divines, were extremely irreverent, and had degenerated almost into profanity: for many, as the proclamation itself expresses it, "not con-"tented with such words and "terms as scripture doth de-"clare thereof, do not cease to "move contentious and super-"fluous questions of the said "holy sacrament and supper of "the Lord, entering rashly

A.D. 1547. 1 Ed. VI substantiation and the superstition of the Corporall Presence was removed, many persons (no lesse ignorant than violent) fell from adoring to contemning of the holy Elements, till retrenched by this Proclamation. Set forth 1 *Edvardi Sexti*, Decem. 27.

" into the discussing of the " high mystery thereof, and go " about in their sermons or " talks arrogantly to define " the manner, nature, fashion, " ways, possibility or impos- " sibility of those matters, " which neither make to edifi- " cation, nor God hath by his " holy word opened." It then proceeds to detail what some of those questions were, as, " Whether the body and blood " aforesaid is there really or " figuratively, locally or cir- " cumscriptly, and having quan- " tity and greatness, or but " substantially and by substance " only, or else but in a figure " and manner of speaking; " whether his blessed body be " there, head, legs, arms, toes " and nails, or any other ways, " shape, and manner, naked or " clothed; whether he is broken " or chewed, or he is always " whole, whether the bread " there remaineth as we see, " or how it departeth; whether " the flesh be there alone and " the blood, or part or each in " other, or in the one both, in " the other but only blood, and " what blood, that only which " did flow out of the side, or " that which remained: with " other such irreverent, super- " fluous, and curious questions, " which of human and corrupt " curiosity hath desire to search " out such mysteries, to the " which our human imbecility " cannot attain; and therefore " ofttimes turneth the same " to their own and others' de- " struction by contention and " arrogant rashness." Some of the questions were of much more irreverent a nature than here mentioned, as may be seen in many places in Fox, and in Strype, Mem. II. 69, 80; and these were the engrossing objects of discussion, not merely in churches, but in markets and alehouses: religious subjects supplying that excitement which politics did afterwards, and, like all religious excitement, rapidly sinking into irreligion and infidelity.

Indeed it may reasonably be doubted if there is any era in our history when there was less real religious feeling than at this time. If the superstition of the previous times was bad, the irreverence of these was not a whit better. " There " ben some," says archbishop Cranmer in the preface to his Bible, using the words of Gregory of Nazianzen in application to his own times, " whose " not only ears and tongues, " but also their fists, keen " whetted and ready bent all " to contention and unprofit-

iii. "A Proclamation for the abstaining from flesh A.D. 1547.
"in the Lent-time. *Anno* 1 *Edvardi Sexti.* Ja- 1 Ed.VI.
"nuarii 16 [n]."

iv. "A Proclamation against such as innovate any "Ceremony, or preach without licence. *Anno* 2 "*Edvardi Sexti,* Febr. 6 [o]."

v. "A Proclamation inhibiting Preachers. *Anno* "2 *Edvardi Sexti,* April 24." Whereof this was the occasion: certain popish preachers, disaffected to the king's government, endeavoured in their sermons to possess people of scandalous reports against the king, as if he intended to lay strange exactions on the people, and to demand half-a-crown a-piece of every one who should be married, christened, or buried. To prevent further mischief, the king ordered by proclamation, that none should preach except licensed under the seals of the lord protector or archbishop of Canterbury [p].

vi. "A Proclamation for the Inhibition of all "Preachers: the second of Edward the Sixth. "Sept. 23."

Because this proclamation is short, hard to be

"able disputation; whom I "would wish, as they been "vehement and earnest to rea- "son the matter with tongue, "so they were also ready and "practice to do good deeds. "But forasmuch as they, sub- "verting the order of all god- "liness, have respect only to "this thing, how they may "bind and loose subtle ques- "tions; so that now every "market-place, every alehouse "and tavern, every feast-house, "briefly every company of "men, every assembly of wo- "men, is filled with such talk" "Our faith and holy religion "of Christ beginneth to wax "nothing else but as it were a "sophistry or talking craft." Cranmer's Remains, II. 113.]

[n] [At length in Wilkins, IV. 20; and in Strype's Mem. II. 82, and App. 44.]

[o] [At length in Wilkins, IV. 21 Burnet, II. 185. Strype, Mem. II. App. 46.]

[p] [See a short abstract of it in Strype, Mem. II. 90.]

A.D. 1548. 2 Ed. VI. come by, and (if I mistake not) conducing much to acquaint us with the character of those times, it may be acceptable here to exemplify the same:

"Whereas of late, by reason of certaine contro-
" versious and seditious preachers, the kinges majes-
" tie, moved of tender zeale and love, which he hath
" to the quiet of his subjects, by the advise of the
" lord protectour, and other his highnesse councell,
" hath by proclamation inhibited and commanded,
" That no manner of person, except such as was
" licenced by his highnesse the lord protectour, or
" by the archbishop of Canterbury, should take upon
" him to preach in any open audience, upon pain in
" the said proclamation contained; and that upon
" hope and esperance, that those being chosen and
" elect men, should preach and set forth onely to the
" people such things as should be to Gods honour
" and the benefit of the kinges majesties subjects.
" Yet neverthelesse his highnesse is advertised, that
" certain of the said preachers, so licenced, not
" regarding such good admonitions as hath been by
" the said lord protectour and the rest of the coun-
" cell on his majesties behalf by letters, or otherwise
" given unto them, hath abused the said authority of
" preaching, and behaved themselves irreverently,
" and without good order in the said preachings,
" contrary to such good instructions and advertise-
" ments as was given unto them, whereby much
" contention and disorder might rise and insue in
" this his majesties realm: wherefore his highnesse,
" minding to see very shortly one uniforme order
" throughout this his realm, and to put an end of
" all controversies in religion, so farre as God shall
" give grace, (for which cause, at this time, certain

" bishops and notable learned men by his highnesse A D. 1548.
" commandement are congregate,) hath by th' advise 2 Ed. VI.
" aforesaid thought good, although certain and many
" of the said preachers so before licenced have be-
" haved themself very discretly and wisely, and to
" the honor of God and his highnesse contentation,
" yet at this present, and untill such time that the
" said order shall be set forth generally throughout
" this his majesties realme, to inhibit, and by these
" presents doth inhibit generally, as well the said
" preachers so before licenced, as all manner of per-
" sons, whosoever they be, to preach in open audience
" in the pulpit or otherwise, by any sought colour or
" fraud, to the disobeying of this commandement, to
" the intent that the whole clergie in this mean
" space might apply themself to prayer to Almighty
" God, for the better atchieving of the same most
" godly intent and purpose, not doubting but that
" also his loving subjects in the mean time will
" occupie themself to Gods honour, with due
" prayer in the church, and patient hearing of the
" godly homelies, heretofore set forth by his high-
" nesse injunctions unto them, and so endevour
" themself, that they may be the more ready with
" thankefull obedience to receive a most quiet, godly,
" and uniform order, to be had throughout all his
" said realms and dominions. And therefore hath
" willed all his loving officers and ministers, as well
" justices of peace, as majors, sheriffs, bailiffs, con-
" stables, or any other his officers, of what estate,
" degree, or condition soever they be, to be attendant
" upon this proclamation and commandement, and
" to see the infringers or breakers thereof to be
" imprisoned; and his highnesse, or the lord pro-

A. D. 1548. 2 Ed. VI.

"tectors grace, or his majesties councell, to be cer-
"tified thereof immediately, as they tender his
"majesties pleasure, and will answer to the contrary
"at their perill."

A panic silence of pulpits.

16. Some preachers, perusing the aforesaid proclamation, will complain of persecution, that all the pulpits in England should be universally silenced at once, and will conclude it *summum jus, That the righteous should be condemned with the wicked;* the mouths of good ministers stopped with railers. Well might the souls of weak Christians be faint and feeble, having no warm meat, but the cold homilies allowed them. But statesmen easily excuse the matter, finding the juncture of time falling out when many popish pulpits sounded the alarum to Kett his rebellion and the Devonshire commotion, whereof hereafter. Besides, this prohibition of preaching lasted but for few weeks; and we read of a *silence for about the space of half an hour*[q] even in heaven itself[r].

[q] Rev. viii. 1.

[r] [The object of this prohibition was to appease in some degree the feverish excitement of the nation, now raised to a great height by the controversies they heard so variously agitated in the pulpits, and to encourage such as favoured the Reformation, who easily obtained licenses to preach. For this purpose also it was required that no bishops should preach elsewhere than in their cathedrals; "and that all other cler-
"gymen should not preach but
"in their collegiate or paro-
"chial churches, unless they
"obtained a special license
"from the king to that effect." Burnet, II 53, 125 See also the letter sent by the council to such as had licenses to preach Burnet, II. ii 189. Wilkins, iv. 27. The reader will smile at the epithet here applied to the homilies of the church of England, which, compared with the overheated political tirades of the time, (for sermons they were not,) would doubtless appear cold and formal. They were alike disrelished by the extremes of all parties, though highly esteemed by Bucer, Ridley, and others. See Strype's Mem. II. 31.]

vii. "A Proclamation for the payment of the late "incumbents of Colledges and Chanteries, lately dis- "solved. *Anno 2 Edvardi Sexti*, Octob. 31." A.D. 1548. 2 Ed VI.

17. The pulpit thus shut and silent by proclamation, the stage was the more open and vocal for the same; the popish priests, which, though unseen, stood behind the hanging, or lurked in the tiring house, removed their invectives from sermons to plays, and a more proper place indeed for the venting thereof. Here it made old sport, to see the new religion (as they term it) made ridiculous, with the prime patrons thereof, which caused the ensuing proclamation for the prohibition [s]. A proclamation against stage-plays.

viii. "A Proclamation for the Inhibition of "Players. *Anno 3 Edvardi VI.*" Aug. 6. And some perchance will not grudge the time to read the form thereof:

"Forasmuch as a great number of those that be "common players of enterludes and plaies, as well

[s] [Bishop Gardiner, in his letters to the protector, makes great complaints against the players. See Fox, II. 716, and Tytler's Collection, I. 21, in which he complains that while he and the parishioners of his parish in the borough of Southwark had resolved on having a solemn dirge for the king, who was as yet unburied, certain players belonging to lord Oxford had on that agreed to open their theatre. So that it is probable that the stage was directed, not against the Reformation, but against popery. Indeed this is still more clear from the complaints of many zealous reformers, and the author of the treatise, "A Con- "futation of unwritten Veri- "ties," published among Cranmer's Remains. Comparing the different states of the gospel under Edward VI. and queen Mary, in whose reign he wrote, he observes: "God's word at that "time (in Edward's reign) had "the prize and bare the bell "away throughout the whole "land. With that were all "pulpits filled, churches gar "nished, printers' shops fur- "nished, and every man's house "decked. With God's word "was every man's mouth occu- "pied, *of that were all songs, "interludes, and plays made.*" Cranmer's Remains, IV. 152.]

A.D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI.

" within the city of London as elswhere, within the " realm, doe for the most part play such interludes " as contain matter tending to sedition, and con- " temning of sundry good orders and laws; where- " upon are grown, and daily are like to grow and " ensue, much disquiet, division, tumults, and uprores " in this realm: the kings majestie, by the advise " and consent of his dearest uncle, Edward duke of " Somerset, governour of his person, and protectour " of his realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest " of his highnesse privie councell, straitly chargeth " and commandeth all and every his majesties sub- " jects, of whatsoever state, order, or degree they be, " that from the ninth day of this present month of " August, untill the feast of All Saints next com- " ming, they, nor any of them, openly or secretly " play in the English tongue any kinde of interlude, " play, dialogue, or other matter, set forth in form " of play, in any place, publick or private, within this " realm, upon pain that whosoever shall play in " English any such play, interlude, dialogue, or other " matter, shall suffer imprisonment, and further pu- " nishment, at the pleasure of his majestie.

" For the better execution whereof, his majesty, " by the said advise and consent, straitly chargeth " and commandeth all and singular majors, sheriffs, " bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, tything-men, jus- " tices of peace, and all other his majesties head " officers, in all the parts throughout the realm, to " give order and speciall heed, that this proclama- " tion be in all behalfs well and truly kept and " observed, as they and every of them tender his " highnesse pleasure, and will avoid his indignation."

18. The proclamation, being but temporary, did not take down, but only clear the stage for a time; reformed interludes, as they term them, being afterward permitted; yea, in the first of queen Elizabeth, scripture-plays were acted even in the church itself, which in my opinion the more pious the more profane; stooping faith to fancy, and abating the majesty of God's word. Such pageants might inform, not edify, though indulged the ignorance of that age; for, though children may be played into learning, all must be wrought into religion by ordinances of divine institutions, and the means ought to be as serious as the end is secret. A. D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI.

"Rex omnibus ad quos præsentes &c. salutem.
"Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex
"certa scientia et mero motu nostris dedimus et
"concessimus ac per præsentes damus et concedimus
"dilecto servienti nostro Thomæ Barthelet impres-
"sori nostro quandam annuitatem sive quendam
"annualem redditum quatuor librarum sterlingorum,
"habendum et annuatim percipiendum prædictam
"annuitatem sive annualem redditum quatuor libra-
"rum eidem Thomæ Barthelet a Festo Paschæ,
"Anno Regni nostri vicesimo primo, durante vita
"sua de Thesauro nostro ad receptum Scaccarii
"nostri per manus Thesaurarum et Camerarii nos-
"trorum ibidem pro tempore existendo ad Festa
"Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Paschæ per equales
"portiones &c. quod expressa mentio &c.

"In cujus &c. testimonium rei apud Westmin-
"steriensem vicesimo secundo die Februarii, Anno
"Regni Henrici Octavi vicesimo primo.

"Per Breve de privato Sigillo."

A. D. 1549
3 Ed. VI.

19. An ample commission was granted to John Dudley, earl of Warwick[s], and eight more; any seven, six, five, four, three, two, or one of them, to visit *in capite et membris* the whole diocese, but especially the university of Oxford. The effects of this visitation do not appear, save only that they so clearly purged the university from all monuments of superstition, that they left not one book of many goodly manuscripts wherewith it was furnished by the munificence of several benefactors. Thus covetousness and ambition are such active vices, they are seldom off the theatre, though not appearing with their own faces, but the borrowed masks of public good of church or state. Such robbers deserve not the benefit of the clergy, to be saved by their book, who feloniously (not to say sacrilegiously) purloined a public library from an university.

Oxford library reformed of all its ancient manuscripts.

Loth to believe.

20. The blame is commonly cast on doctor Coxe, who, as one saith, (but it is but one who saith it,) being then chancellor of the university, so cancelled

[s] [This earl was the son of the celebrated Edmund Dudley, who, like Cromwell, having lent himself as a willing instrument to royal extortion, met with the due reward of a corrupt minister, losing his head at the bidding of the king. His attainder, however, having been reversed in 1511, his son (created afterwards earl of Northumberland) succeeded to his father's estate, and with it his father's disposition. Inspired with the zeal of reformation, and warmed with disinterested affection towards the welfare of the church, he took the most effectual means to purge it of both property and corruption; and feelingly alive to the temptation of riches, and the vices which they engender, relieved the church of both, by taking both into his own safe keeping. In this only he was unhappy, that whilst he set others so notable an example, with all the inclination, he left them not the means to follow him. We may thus understand the motives which made him "so frequent, incessant, and "importunate," as Mr. Tytler describes him, in his applications to the protector and to the secretary of state.]

the books thereof, they could never since recover them [t]. Indeed I find another author charging him therewith [u], but with this parenthesis ("'tis said"); and my charity would fain believe fame a false report therein, finding him otherwise a deserving person, very well qualified; and it is strange to me, that he who at this present was the king's almoner, to dispense his charity in giving to others, should be so cruel and covetous, and to deprive an university of so precious a treasure so long and justly belonging unto them. A. D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI.

21. The king's affairs, both ecclesiastical and civil, stood now in a probable posture of success, gliding on with a fair and full current; when both on a sudden were unexpectedly obstructed with domestical dissensions of his own subjects: distempers not considerable, if singly considered in themselves, but very dangerous in their concurrence, as if all in several counties at one instant were acted with the same spirit of rebellion. My author imputeth it to Midsummer-moon, and the sun now in Cancer; though surely it proceeded from a deeper cause, as will appear to the perusers of these two contemporary treasons. An epidemical distemper of disloyalty.

[t] Sir John Harrington, in the list of the bishops of Ely. [Works, ii. 110.]

[u] In his preface to the Life of sir John Cheke, printed at Oxford, at the beginning of sir John Cheke's "True Subject to the Rebel," 1641. The preface and the Life of sir J. Cheke, prefixed to this pamphlet, are stated to have been written by the celebrated Dr. Gerard Langbaine, provost of Queen's College, Oxford. See Wood's Ath. II. 220.]

A. D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI

The beginning of two rebellions

Devon Commotion [x].

1. It began on Whitsun-Monday, at Stampford-Court-

Norfolk Rebellion [y].

1. It began about the 20th of June, at Atilborough, about

[x] [The most correct account of the rebellion in Devonshire is that by John Hooker, chamberlain of Exeter, who was, as he describes himself, "*testis* "*oculatus* of things there "done." This account is closely followed and abbreviated by Fuller, and is printed at length in Holinshed, 1014.]

[y] [Of the commotions in Norfolk a full and accurate description was penned in Latin, at the desire of archbishop Parker, by Alexander Neville, at one time an inmate of the archbishop's house. The writer, as well as his patron, was a native of Norwich, and probably an eyewitness of the facts which he narrates This book was first published in 1575, the same year in which the archbishop died, and again in 1582, on account of the elegance of its Latinity, with a view to its being used as a school-book. The dedication to the archbishop, and the lines on his death, prefixed to this work by the author, have been reprinted, though very incorrectly, by Strype in his Life of Parker, 499, 502, App. 193. Of this work an almost literal version, but somewhat epitomized, is given by Holinshed, 1028.

The direct occasion of these troubles, which were near being general throughout England, took its origin from the landlords converting large portions of their arable lands into pasturage, throwing together the small farms, raising the rents of such as remained, and enclosing the public lands. This was carried to such an alarming extent, and had given rise to so much clamour and disorder, that upon the 1st June, 1548, a commission was appointed to inquire into these grievances, and a proclamation issued at the same time that all his majesty's loving subjects should give notice where such offences existed to the commissioners (See them exemplified in Strype's Mem. II. 92, App. 47.) But by the influence and arts of those against whom this commission was directed, its efforts were frustrated, and the proclamation neglected. Upon which, "the unadvised people, "presuming upon this procla-"mation, thinking they should "be borne out by them that "had set it forth, rashly with-"out order took upon them "to redress the matter." Holinshed, 1002. And particularly the disaffected in Norfolk, who had emissaries in several counties, hearing upon some uncertain rumour that the enclosures in Kent had been removed, and imagining that the same justice was denied to them, rose at Wymondham, a village about nine miles from Norwich, and compelled Kett, who had himself enclosed cer-

ney [z], where the people tumultuously compelled the priest (whose secret compliance is suspected by some covertly to court their compulsion) to say mass, and officiate in Latin, as best pleased with what they least understood.

2. Humphrey Arundell, esquire, governor of the Mount in Cornwall, (one whose abilities might have been better employed,) Winslande, a man of worship, and one Coffin, a gentleman, were their principal conductors. Otherwise (though assuming to themselves the high style of the commons of Devonshire and Cornwall) they were but a heap of mean mechanics, though many in number, and daily increasing; so that at last they were reputed to exceed ten thousand, all stout and able persons.

3. Sir Pierce Courtenay, sheriff of Devonshire, appeared very loyal and active for their seasonable suppressing; but others of the county gentry, the laying open of Commons, pretended lately enclosed to the prejudice of the poor; much increased on the 6th of July at Windham Play, where there was a great confluence of idle people repairing from all parts of the county. A.D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI.

2. Robert Kett, tanner of Windham, (one of more wealth than common folk of his craft, yet of more wit than wealth, confidence than either,) was chosen their captain. He, with two assistants chosen out of every hundred, kept his king's bench, chancery, and all other courts under a tree, termed the Oak of Reformation; where he did justice, be it wrong or right, to all such as were summoned before him. In short time they increased to be more than twenty thousand. Their ring-leaders, and number.

3. Sir Edmund Windham, sheriff of Norfolk, commanded them in the king's name peaceably to depart; but had not his horsemanship been better The sheriff's endeavours succeed not.

tain of the public lands, to throw down his enclosures and join them. This man, possessed of a bold spirit, and being of great courage and conduct, would have graced a better cause, and prevented his followers from committing many cruelties. Stow describes him as "one who might dispend in "lands fifty pound by year, "and was worth in movables "about a thousand marks," (597;) a large fortune for those days. For a fuller account of these tumults, of their origin, and what was done to suppress them, see Burnet, II. 234. Strype's Mem. II. 166, 174.]

[z] [About sixteen miles from Exeter.]

A.D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI. (whose names I had rather the reader should learn from my author's pen than mine own,) by their privy connivance, and in effect concurrence, much advantaged their proceedings. Many were taken prisoners by them, because they would be taken, and found favour thereupon. And now the seditious march in a full body to Exeter; and on the citizens' refusal to admit them in, resolve suddenly to besiege it, boasting they would shortly measure the silks and satins therein by the length of their bows.

The description of Exeter and Norwich.

4. Exeter is a round city on a rising hill, most capable of fortification both for the site and form thereof. Her walls (though of the old edition) were competently strong and well repaired. John Blackaller, major of Exeter, though a mere merchant, little skilled in politic, less in military affairs, had wisdom to know who were wiser than himself, and willingly to be directed by them. And now the seditious, having taken the ordinance at Topsham, set down before Exeter, presuming quickly to conquer the same.

The rebels send proud demands to the king

5 But first they are consulting about articles to be

than his rhetoric, himself had not departed the place. Yea, now the rebels began to play their pranks, threatening to burn the house, and defacing the dovecot, (formerly a chapel, before it was turned of an house of prayer into a den of thieves,) of master Corbets [z] of Sprowston, and, committing many outrages, laid all pastures rather waste than open where they came. Yea, now they march towards Norwich, the chief place in the county.

4. Norwich is like a great volume with a bad cover, having at best but parchment walls about it; nor can it with much cost and time be effectually fortified, because under the frowning brow of Mousehold Hill, hanging over it. The river Yere so wanton, that it knoweth not its own mind which way to go, such the involved flexures thereof within a mile of this city, runneth partly by, partly through it, but contributeth very little to the strengthening thereof.

5. The rebels encamped, or rather enkennelled themselves

[z] [This very ancient family still remains in Norwich Sprowston is a village about three miles from that city.]

sent to the king. Some would have no justices, (can you blame offenders if desiring to destroy their enemies?) others no gentlemen, all no English service; mass must be restored, the six articles (lately repealed) they would have put in execution, and popery re-established [b]. Concluding all with this close, (the gilded paper to wrap up poisonous treasons, at the beginning thereof,) "We "pray God save king Edward, "for we be his, both body and "goods [c]." Whose unreasonable demands were justly rejected by the king, yet pardon proclaimed to such as would accept thereof; which the seditious, mistaking the king's favour to be his fear, utterly refused.

6. Meantime Exeter was not so much frighted with her foes without, as with famine and faction within the walls thereof.

on Mousehold Hill, (whereon Mount Surrey, a fair house of the dukes of Norfolk,) whence they had free egress and regress into Norwich as oft as they pleased [a]. One [Thomas] Conyers, a vicar in the city, they had for their chaplain; and were so religiously rebellious, that prayers morning and evening were read amongst them. Meantime, so intolerable was their insolence, that now they sent up such demands to the king, to which he neither would in honour nor could in justice condescend. Yet the king constantly chequered his comminations with proclamations of pardon, which the rebels scorned to accept. A. D. 1549 3 Ed. VI.

6. As for Thomas Codd [d], major of Norwich, and others of the gentry, detained prisoners in Kett's camp, they were

Exeter resisteth, Norwich yieldeth to the rebels.

[a] [Their first intention was to have encamped at Eton, a hamlet of Norwich, at that time covered with a hill; but not finding it suitable to their purpose, they took post on Mousehold, on a hill called St. James, which commands the river and the city; the walls of Kett's Castle, as it is called, remaining to this day; and his cave, close adjoining. After this, they seized on St. Leonard's Hill, opposite to Norwich, where stood the house of the earl of Surrey, at the bottom of which flows the river; the village of Thorpe stretching to the south-west, and Mousehold to the north-east. These parts were at that time much covered with wood, but are at this day greatly altered.]

[b] [Printed in Fox, II. 666, and in Strype's Cran. p. 186, and N. XL. with the archbishop's answer to them.]

[c] [Fox, ib.]

[d] [This family still remains in those parts.]

A. D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI. Great was the want of victuals, and bread especially. Now,

Plebs nescit jejuna timere.

Where there is the barking of the belly, there no other commands will be heard, much less obeyed. But this was in some sort qualified by proportioning all provisions in the city to all alike; and mean folk will be the better pleased with coarse and short diet when eating out of the same dish with their betters. When in successful sallies they recovered any cattle from the rebels, the poor had the principal share thereof.

7. Faction in the city was of most dangerous consequence, the generality thereof favouring popery, and cordial protestants but few in comparison of the other party. However, admitted to the councils of the rebels, for the better credit thereof [e]. If Kett were present, they were no better than herb John in the pottage, and had no influence on their consultations, but if he happily chanced to be absent, then they were like St. John's wort, (so sovereign for sores, and against the plague itself,) and did much mitigate the fury of their mischievous decrees. Meantime great plenty was in Kett's camp, (where a fat sheep was sold for a groat,) but penury and misery in all other places [f].

7 Dr. Matthew Parker, (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury,) getting up into the Oak of Reformation, preached to the rebels of their duty and allegiance [g]; but the oak as

[e] [They endeavoured to make Thomas Codd, Robert Watson, and Thomas Aldrich, of Mangreen Hall, partners in their conspiracy; but they, refusing, were detained and compelled to be present at all Ketts's councils. The latter especially, from his high character for probity and moderation, possessed great influence with the rebels.]

[f] [The rebels, who had increased in Kett's camp to the number of six thousand, finding that some of their members secretly appropriated the plunder and concealed it in caves, informed Kett and their governors of it. To remedy this evil they built a kind of stage about an old oak which grew near their camp, upon which Kett sat and dispensed judgment, and decided in such causes as were brought before him. This oak they called the "oak of reformation." From this place he frequently harangued his followers; and some of the clergy of the neighbourhood, whom they had compelled to join them, preached to them from it.]

[g] [Neville, 20. Strype's Park. 26.]

this was a good help to the protestants, that such who severed from them in the church joined with them in the town-house. Rich papists feared their goods would be condemned as heretical, even by the rebels of their own religion, which made them persist in their loyalty to their sovereign.

soon as the auditory would embrace his doctrine: yea, his life was likely to be ended before his sermon, (arrows being shot at him,) had not Conyers, Kett's chaplain, seasonably yet abruptly set the *Te Deum;* during the singing whereof the doctor withdrew to sing his part at home, and thank God for his great deliverance. A. D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI.

8. John Russell[h], lord privy seal, was sent down with small forces to suppress the commotion; a person very proper for that service, as of a stout spirit, and richly landed in this county. He stayed some time at Honiton, in vain expecting promised supplies, either because this lord was looked on as of the protector's party, whose court interest did much decline, or because Norfolk rebellion, as nearer London, engrossed all warlike provisions Thus was this lord in deep distress, having nothing (save his commission) strong about him; and his few forces, for fear and want of pay, began daily to forsake him

8. William Parr, marquis of Northampton, but more acquainted with the witty than the warlike part of Pallas, (as complete in music, poetry, and courtship,) with many persons of honour, as the lords [John] Sheffield and [Thomas] Wentworth, sir Anthony Denny, sir Ralph Sadlier, sir Thomas Paston, &c., is sent to quell this rebellion, with 1500 men. They were assisted with a band of Italians, under Malatesta their captain, whereof the rebels made this advantage to fill the country with complaints that these were but an handful of an armful to follow driving on the design, to subject England to the insolence of foreigners. Aid sent to suppress the rebels.

9. And now, following the advice of the Dorsetshire gentry, he was ready to return, when three princely merchants, (for so may I term them, both

9 Now, though neither wisdom nor valour was wanting in the king's soldiers, yet success failed them, being too few to defend Norwich and oppose The lord Russell conqueror. Lord marquis conquered.

[h] [See his account of his proceedings in this rebellion, in his own letter to the council. Strype's Mem. II. App. 103.]

A.D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI.

for great interest and loyal intentions,) viz Thomas Prestwood, John Bodly, and John Periam, so improved their credits with Bristol, Lyme, and Taunton, that they furnished the lord Russell with necessaries to march forward. Animated herewith, they advance, and gave the rebels such a blow at Fenington Bridge, that they left three hundred of their bodies dead on the place.

The lord Grey and earl of Warwick come with new supplies.

10. Soon after the lord Grey of Wilton (whose slowness may be excused, as busied by the way in suppressing tumults in Buckingham and Oxfordshire) came with a company of horsemen and 300 Italian shot, under Baptist Spinola, their leader, to recruit the lord Russell. Here one would wonder to behold the native English fighting in the maintenance of the mass, opposed by Italians, until he considereth that these foreigners, being soldiers of fortune, consulted the coin, not the cause, of such as entertained them. And now the king's army advanceth towards Exeter, a word or two of which city's sad condition.

11. The rebels had often attempted to fire the gates of the city, till at last the citizens found the paradox true, that "the only way to keep their the rebels: insomuch that the lord Sheffield was barbarously butchered, sir Thomas Cornwallis taken prisoner, and the city fired by the rebels; which probably had been burnt to ashes, had not the clouds, commiserating the city's calamity, and melting into tears, quenched the flames; and thus the marquis, fain to quit the service, returned to London.

10. Then was John Dudley, earl of Warwick, with such forces as were intended for Scotland, sent to undertake the task. The marquis of Northampton attended him, to try whether he could be more fortunate in following than he had been in leading. Coming to Norwich, he easily entered the city, and entertained the rebels with many sallies with various success, here too long to relate; but generally the earl of Warwick came off with the better.

11. Now the rebels, impregnable in some sort if still keeping Mousehold Hill, (whereon the earl's horse could do small service,) deserted it of their

" city shut was to set their " gates open," making rampires more defensible behind them. As for the enemy's intent to undermine and blow up the walls, it was first discovered, then defeated, by John Newcombe, a tinner of Teignmouth; for, taking advantage of the declivity of the city on that side, he countermined the rebels' work, and then derived into it all the kennels and water-courses, falling down with a great precipice, and so drowned the vault intended with powder to blow up the walls; besides, at the same instant set an impetuous shower, which added to the deluge. Thus in vain doth hell seek to kindle that fire, when heaven intendeth to pour water for the quenching thereof.

12. Famine raged most extremely, insomuch as they were fain to bake bran and meal moulded up in cloths, for otherwise it would not stick together. Nor must the worthy resolution of a loyal citizen be

own accord, and came down into Dussindale[i]. Here their superstition fancied themselves sufficiently fenced by the virtue of an old prophecy: A.D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI.

" The country gnooffes, Hob, Dick, and Hick, with clubs and clouted shoon,
Shall fill up Dussindale with slaughtered bodies soone." Philip Commeus.

It hath ever been charged on the English, as if they always " carried an old prophecy about " with them in their pockets[k]," which they can produce at pleasure to promote their designs, though oft mistaken in the application of such equivocating predictions, as here these silly folk were deluded; for, it being believed that Dussindale must make a large and soft pillow for Death to rest thereon, these rebels apprehended themselves the upholsterers to make, who proved only the stuffing to fill the same.

12 The earl, glad that the enemy had quitted the hill, fell with all his forces upon them; and here happened a most bloody battle. The rebels disputed the ground with their natural logic, as I may term it

[i] [They were compelled to leave their ground, being straitened from want of provisions. See the protector's letter to sir Philip Hobby. Strype's Mem. II. App. [illegible]

[k] [See this History, p. 228.]

THE UNIVERSITY RECEIVED

A. D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI. forgotten, publicly professing, that "rather than he would "surrender the city to the "rebels, he would fight with "one arm and feed on the "other." And now they were reduced to utmost extremity, when the seasonable approach of lord privy seal put a period to their miseries; for at the windmill of St. Mary Clist, after a bloody battle, wherein sir William Francis was slain on the king's side, the rebels were routed and forced to fly, leaving a thousand of their corps dead on the place. Miles Coverdale gave public thanks to God for the victory in the view of Exeter [l], and soon after was made the bishop thereof [m].

13. Then the lord caused St. Mary Clist to be burnt to the ground, though it was his own town, as knowing full well traitors to their king would never make good tenants to their landlord. And on Clist Heath a second fight was begun, where the rebels were finally overcome. The lord privy seal marched into Exeter, and was there, as he well deserved, welcomed with all possible expressions of joy. Sir — downright blows, without much military discipline. Here one might have seen young boys (timely traitors) plucking the arrows wherewith they were wounded out of their own flesh, and giving them to those of their own party to shoot them back again; here some, thrust through with spears, wilfully engaged their bodies the deeper thereon, only striving to reach out their revenge on those who wounded them. But at last rage was conquered by courage, number by valour, rebellion by loyalty, and in the fight and pursuit two thousand at the least were slain.

13. Remarkable was Divine Providence in preserving the captive gentlemen of the country, whom the rebels coupled together, and set them in the front of the fight. Now, although it be true what David saith, *The sword devoureth one as well as another* [n]; yet so discreetly did captain Drury charge the van of the rebels, that most of these innocent prisoners made their escape. The last litter of Kett's kennel,

[l] [He was for some time assistant to Veysey, his predecessor in that see; but according to Hooker he was at that time "attending on my lord "[Russell] in this journey." Holinshed, 1025.]

[m] [Aug 27, 1551.]

[n] 2 Sam. xi. 25.

William Herbert, with 1000 Welsh, came too late to fight, but soon enough to be an honourable witness of the victory.

14. This sixth of August, the day of their deliverance, is an high festival in the almanack of Exeter; good cheer, and thereby, I justly guess, their great gratitude being annually observed, with a public sermon to perpetuate the memory of God's mercy unto them. Yet such solemnities do daily decay, every new generation being removed one degree further from the deliverance. The king conferred the manor of Exilond (formerly belonging to the city, but wrested from it by the earls of Devonshire) on their corporation, in reward of their loyalty and valour.

15 Humphrey Arundel, Winslande, Bury, and Coffin were executed; and, as this commotion began, it ended, at Sampford-Courtney, where their last remnant was defeated. Six popish priests were hanged, with Welsh, the vicar of St. Thomas; though all this was but mercy to the cruelty of sir Anthony Kingston, provost-marshal, in trussing up many mean offenders [o].

stiffly standing out and fortifying themselves, accepted of pardon on the earl's promise it should be assured unto them. A. D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI.

14. On the nine and twentieth of August a solemn thanksgiving was made in Norwich for their deliverance, and is annually continued. Indeed, this city being betwixt weakness and strength, is taxed for wavering at the time betwixt loyalty and revolt; though, to give the citizens their due, many expressed their fidelity to their prince as far as they durst for fear of destruction. Yet better had it been had Norwich been weaker to be quitted, or stronger to be defended, whose mongrel strength exposed it to the greater misery. Two solemn yearly festivals

15. Robert Kett was hanged on Norwich Castle; William, his brother, on Windham steeple, nine others on the oak of reformation, which never till then brooked the name thereof Amongst these, Miles, a cunning cannoneer, was much lamented, because remorse kept him from doing much mischief to which his cunning did enable him [p]. The legal execution of the rebels.

[o] [Holinshed, 1006. He was as cruel and barbarous a jester as the noted Jeffreys. See Holinshed, 1006-7. In-

A.D. 1549. 3 Ed. VI. Thus, by God's blessing on man's endeavours, both these rebellions were seasonably suppressed [q]. That of Devonshire did openly avouch the advancing of popery; the other was suspected secretly fomented by some papists, who stood behind the curtain, but ready to step on the stage, had success of the design but given them the cue of entrance. As for the rebellion at the same time in Yorkshire, (which from a small pustule might have proved a painful boil, yea, a fistulated ulcer if neglected,) it was quickly quelled on the execution of [William] Omler and [Thomas] Dale, the chief promoters thereof [r].

Abstracts of church matters out of king Edward's own diary.

22. By the favour of sir Thomas Cotton, having obtained to make use of his library, (our English Vatican for manuscripts,) I shall transcribe king Edward's Diurnal, written with his own hand, of the transactions in his reign [s]. True it is his observations, for his two first years, are short, and not exactly expressing the notation of time; but his notes, as the noter, got perfection with his age. They most belong to secular affairs, out of which we have selected such as respect ecclesiastical matters. May the reader be pleased to take notice, that though my observations, as printed, go abreast in parallel columns with those of his highness, it is my intention they should observe their distance, in their humble attendance thereupon.

deed throughout the whole of these commotions the rich nobility acted against the deluded people, who were but instruments in the hands of others, with a ferocity unparalleled except in the annals of a civil war.]

[p] [He was suspected to have been bribed. Neville, ib. 55.]

[q] [1549.]

[r] [21st September. Fox, II. 670. Stow, 597.]

[s] [Cotton Lib. Nero. C. x. This diary has been printed, but with some errors, at full length by bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, vol. II App.]

A D. 1550.
4 Ed VI.

Text Royal.

"1549. The lord protec-"
"tor, by his own agree-"
"ment (1) and submission,"
"lost his protectorship (2),"
"treasurership, marshal-"
"ship, all his movables,"
"and near 2000 pound"
"land, by act of parliament."

"April 4th, 1550. The"
"bishop of Chichester[t] (3),"
"before a vehement af-"
"firmer of transubstantia-"
"tion, did preach against"
"[it] at Westminster, in"
"the preaching place."

"April 10th. My lord"
"Somerset taken into the"
"council."

"April 13th. Order"
"taken, that whosoever"
"had benefices given them"
"(4) should preach before"
"the king, in or out of"
"Lent, and every Sunday"
"there should be a sermon."

"April 19th. Whereas"
"the emperor's ambassa-"
"dor desired leave, by let-"

Observations thereon.

(1) Thus the pilot, to save the ship from sinking, casts out the rich lading into the sea.

(2) This lay void ever after, whilst the treasurership was presently conferred on William Paulet, marquis of Winchester; and the marshalship on John Dudley, earl of Warwick.

(3) Namely, George Day, who, notwithstanding this sermon, remained a zealous papist, and on that score was deprived of his bishopric[u].

(4) Understand it, not by private patrons, but either presented by the king or lord chancellor.

[t] [In Cotton MS. "Ches-"
"tre" (sic).]

[u] [10th Oct. 1551. Stow, 605. 6th Oct. 1551, according to king Edward's Journal, 53 See Burnet, 417. He was succeeded by Scory, bishop of Rochester.]

A.D. 1550. 4 Ed. VI.

" ters patents, that my lady"
" Mary might have mass;"
" it was denied him (5)."
" April 27th. It was"
" granted that my lord of"
" Somerset should have all"
" his movable goods and"
" leases, except those that"
" be already given (6)."
" May 2nd. Joan Bocher"
" (7), otherwise called Joan"
" of Kent, was burnt for"
" holding 'that Christ was"
" not incarnate of the Vir-"
" gin Mary,' being con-"

(5) These engaged archbishop Cranmer and bishop Ridley to press the king with politic reasons for the permission thereof. He, unable to answer their arguments, fell a weeping [x].

(6) Courtiers keep what they catch, and catch whatever they can come by.

(7) An obstinate heretic, maintaining that Christ assumed nothing of the Virgin Mary, but passed through her as a conduit-pipe. She with one or two Arians were

[x] [Such is the assertion of Fox, Acts, &c., II. 653. Burnet, II. 355, affirms that the council employed Cranmer and Ridley, for mere political reasons, to persuade the king. The princess in her letters to the council, where she reproaches them for not keeping their promise to the emperor, never alludes to his ambassador's engaging the English prelates in this service. See her letters in Fox, II. 701, sq.]

[y] [See Cranmer's Works, III. 138, 144. Burnet, II. 230. Strype's Mem. II. 214. And the letter of the archbishop of Canterbury and other the king's commissioners respecting this woman, dated April 30, 1549, in Wilkins, IV. 43. Of the king's concern for this woman, and his desire to spare her, Fox gives the following account:

" He always spared and favoured the life of man, as
" once appeared in a certain
" dissertation of his had with
" master Cheeke in favouring
" the life of heretics; insomuch that when Joane Butcher should be burned, all
" the council could not move
" him to put his hand, but
" were fain to get Dr. Cranmer to persuade with him;
" and yet neither could he,
" with much labour, induce
" the king to do so, saying,
" 'What, my lord! will you
" have me to send her quick
" to the devil in her error?'
" So that Dr. Cranmer himself
" confessed that he had never
" so much to do in all his life
" as to cause the king to put
" his hand, saying that he
" would lay all the charge
" thereof upon Cranmer before

" demned the year before[z]," " but kept in hope of con-" " version; and the 30th of" " April the bishop of Lon-" " don and the bishop of" " Ely[a] were to persuade" " her; but she withstood" " them, and reviled the" " preacher that preached" " at her death."

" May 20th. The lord" " Cobham[b] and sir Wil-" " liam Petre came home" " from their journey, deli-" " vering both the oath and" " the testimonial of the" " oath, witnessed by divers" " noblemen of France, and" " also the treaty sealed" " with the great seal of" " France (8); and in the"

all who (and that justly) died in this king's reign for their opinions[y]. A. D 1550. 4 Ed. VI.

(8) Advantageous enough for the French, and dishonourable too much to the English, whose covetousness was above their sense of honour; selling Boulogne, bought with blood, for a sum of money[c].

" God." Acts, II. 652. Stow says, " There preached before " her at the stake, to have " converted her from her he-" resy, Dr. Story; but she, not " regarding his doctrine, said " to him he lied like, &c " p. 604. The whole process of her examination is detailed in the works already mentioned. Stow, p. 596.]

[z] [April, 1549.]

[a] [Nicholas Ridley and Thomas Goodrich.]

[b] [George Brook.]

[c] [They had been sent on the 18th of April to receive the French king's oath in ratification of the treaty of Boulogne. This peace was determined on in February. Stow (p. 604) thus describes the negotiation: " After divers " meetings of our ambassadors " with the lords of France at " Boulogne, a final peace was " concluded, upon condition " that the French king, paying " a certain sum of money to " the king of England, should " have rendered to him the " town of Boulogne, and all " the forts thereunto belong-" ing, with all such artillery " and munition as was there " at the taking thereof by the

A D. 1550. 4 Ed. VI.

" oath was confessed that"
" I was supreme head of"
" the church of England"
" and Ireland (9)."

" June 9th. The duke"
" of Somerset [d], marquis of"
" Northampton [e], lord trea-"
" surer Bedford [f], and the"
" secretary Petre [g], went"
" to the bishop of Win-"
" chester [g] to know to what"
" he would stick (10). He"
" made answer that he"
" would obey and set forth"
" all things set forth by me"
" and my parliament; and"
" if he were troubled in"
" conscience, he would re-"
" veal it to the council,"
" and not reason openly"
" against it [h]."

" June 10th. The books"
" of my proceedings was"
" sent to the bishop of"

(9) The controversy about this title lying not betwixt the crowns of England and France, but betwixt England and Rome, no wonder if the French yielded to any style in a treaty so gainful to themselves.

(10) For as yet this subtle statist scarce knew his own mind, often receding from his resolves, whose inconstancy in this kind incensed the king and council against him.

" English, for the perform-
" ance whereof hostages were
" by both parties to be deli-
" vered. so that on the last
" day of March a general peace
" was proclaimed between the
" kings of England and France,
" the emperor and the Scots"
See also King Edward's Journal, 13, and Burnet, II. 306. The negotiation appears to have given great offence, and was afterwards thrown in the teeth of the duke of Somerset by his political opponents. See his letters to lord Russell, in Fox, II. 749. The policy of this measure is discussed by Burnet, Ref. II 269.]

[d] [Edward Seymour.]

[e] [William Parr.]

[f] [John Russell.]

[g] [Gardyner.]

[h] [Burnet, II. 310. The letters which passed on this occasion are printed in Fox, II. 734.]

A.D. 1550.
4 Ed. VI.

" Winchester, to see whe-"
" ther he would set his"
" hand to it, or promise to"
" set it forth to the people."
" June 14th. The duke"
" of Somerset, with five"
" other of the council, went"
" to the bishop of Winches-"
" ter, to whom he made"
" this answer: 'I, having"
" deliberately seen the"
" Book of Common Prayer,"
" although I would not"
" have made it so myself,"
" yet I find such things in"
" it as satisfieth my con-"
" science; and therefore"
" both I will execute it"
" myself, and also see other"
" my parishioners to do it' "
" (11). This was subscribed"
" by the foresaid counsel-"
" lors, that they heard him"
" saying these words."
" July 9th. The earl of"
" Warwick[i], the lord Trea-"
" surer, sir William Her-"
" bert, and the secretary"
" Petre, went to the bishop"
" of Winchester with cer-"
" tain Articles, signed by"
" me and the council, con-"

(11) Parish, in the dialect of a bishop, is notoriously known to be his diocese. Yet I deny not but that the numerous parishioners of St. Mary Overy's (wherein Winchester House) are herein particularly intended.

[i] [John Dudley.]

A. D 1550. 4 Ed. VI.

" taining the confessing of"
" his fault, the supremacy,"
" the establishing of holy"
" days, the abolishing of"
" six Articles, and divers"
" other ; — whereunto he"
" put his hand, saving to"
" the confession."

" July 10th. Sir William"
" Herbert and the secretary"
" Petre were sent unto him"
" to tell him I marvelled"
" that he would not put"
" his hand to the confes-"
" sion ; to whom he made"
" answer, ' That he would"
" not put his hand to the"
" confession, for because he"
" was innocent' (12)."

(12) If conscious of no crime, he is not to be condemned for justifying his own integrity

" July 11th. The bishop"
" of London, the secretary"
" Petre, Mr. Cecil, and"
" Gooderich, were com-"
" manded to make certain"
" Articles [k], according to"
" the laws, and to put"
" [them] in the submis-"
" sion."

" July 12th. It was ap-"
" pointed that, under the"
" shadow of preparing for"
" the sea matters, there"

[k] [These are also printed in Fox, II. 735]

" should be sent 5000"
" pounds to the Protest-"
" ants, to get their good"
" will (13)."

" July 14th. The bishop"
" of Winchester did deny"
" the Articles that the"
" bishop of London and the"
" other had made (14)."

" July 19th. The bishop"
" of Winchester was se-"
" questered from his fruits"
" for three months (15)."

" July 28th. The lady"
" Mary, after long commu-"
" nication, was content to"
" come to Leis to the lord"
" chancellor, and then to"
" Hunsdon; but she utterly"
" denied to come to the"
" court or Oking at that"
" time (16)."

" Aug. 13th. The lord"
" chancellor[1] fell sore sick,"
" with forty more of his"
" house (17); so that the"
" lady Mary came not thi-"
" ther at that time."

" Nov. 19th. There were"
" letters sent to every"
" bishop to pluck down"
" the altars[m]."

(13) Such umbrages of simulation presumed lawful by all politicians. *Quære*, whether the Protestants in the Netherlands or France (those of High Germany being beyond the line of probability) were here intended. A.D 1550. 4 Ed. VI.

(14) They were drawn up in so punctual expressions, the other had neither compass for evasion nor covert for equivocation.

(15) A rod formerly in fashion, but never so soundly laid on as of late.

(16) She loved to deal with the king her brother *eminus* by letters, but in nowise *communus* by discourse. Besides, she hated coming to the court, suspecting some harsh usage to her person, and jealous of being put into restraint.

(17) Lees in Essex, a county generally not very healthful, where agues sit as close, and sometimes last as long, as a new suit.

[1] [Richard Rich]

[m] [The first altar which was removed was that of St. Paul's, probably by the influence of

A.D. 1550. 4 Ed VI.

"Dec. 15. There was"
"letters sent for the taking"
"of certain chaplains (18)"
"of the lady Mary, for"
"saying mass; which she"
"denied [q]."

(18) Of these Francis Mallet (last master of Michael House, in Cambridge) was the chief [n]. He, having leave from the council to officiate mass, only in the presence of the lady Mary, presumed on the same

Ridley, then bishop of London. "This year, (1550,)" says Stow, "St. Barnaby's day "(June 11) was kept holiday, "and the same day at night "the altar in Paul's church "was pulled down, and a table "set where the altar stood, "with a vayle drawn beneath, "and steps, and on the Sun- "day next a communion was "sung at the same table; and "shortly after all the altars "in London were taken down, "and tables placed in their "rooms." p. 604 Heylyn, in his History of the Church, doubts the correctness of this statement, on the ground that Ridley was "the master of too "great a judgment to run before "authority in a business of "such weight and moment, "and he had also a more high "esteem of the blessed sacra- "ment than by any such un- "advised and precipitate action "to render it less venerable in "the eyes of the common "people." p. 98. But this is sufficiently answered by the fact that sir J. Yates was sent down into Essex, on the 23rd of June this year, to see Ridley's injunctions respecting the plucking down of altars performed See King Edward's Journal, 24. Burnet, II. 325 Strype's Mem. II. 227. Both the bishop in his injunctions, and the council in their letter, state that "Whereas in divers "places some use the Lord's "board after the form of a "table, and some of an altar, "whereby dissension is per- "ceived to arise among the "unlearned, therefore, wish- "ing a godly unity to be ob- "served, they required all al- "tars to be removed" It is clear, therefore, that altars had been removed from several churches prior to these injunctions, but by what authority is not easily discovered. Probably these orders were further pressed on account of the disputes arising in various places, altars being placed in some churches, and tables in others. See the letters printed in Fox, II. 699 Wilkins' Concilia, IV. 65. Cranmer's Works, IV. 377 Fox has also published another paper sent with these injunctions, containing the "Reasons "why the Lord's board should "rather be after the form of a "table than of an altar" These alterations did not pass, however, without giving great offence to many See Strype's Mem. II. 227. Burnet, II. 327.]

[n] Sceletos Cant. MS.

"1551. Feb. 16th. Whal-" liberty in her absence [o]. Whereupon he was, notwithstanding his lady's refusal to surrender him, fetched from her by force, and committed to prison [p]. A D 1550. 4 Ed VI.
" ley was examined for per-"
" suading divers nobles of"
" the realm to make the"
" duke of Somerset pro-"

[o] [What that liberty was, and upon what conditions it was granted, is thus explained in the letter of the privy council to the princess, dated Dec. 25, 1550: "It is very true the "emperor made request to the "king's majesty, (19th April, "1550,) that you might have "liberty to use the mass in "your house, and to be as it "were exempted from the dan-"ger of the statute to which "request divers good reasons "were made, containing the "discommodity that should "follow the grant thereof, and "means devised rather to per-"suade you to obey and receive "the general and godly refor-"mation of the whole realm, "than by a private fancy to "prejudice a common order. "But yet, upon earnest desire "and entreaty made in the "emperor's name, thus much "was granted, that for his sake, "and your own also, it should "be suffered and winked at, if "you had the private mass "used in your own closet for "a season, until you might be "better informed, whereof "there was some hope, having "only with you a few of your "own chamber, so that for all "the rest of your household "the service of the realm "should be used, and none "other. Further than this "the promise exceeded not." This promise, as they proceed to shew, the ambassador endeavoured to have confirmed under the great seal, "and that not "being heard, to have it but "by a letter." This was denied likewise. "The most that "might herein be borne was, "that the king's majesty might, "upon hope of your grace's "reconciliation, suspend the "execution of his law" Fox, II. 705 Burnet, II. 353. Strype's Mem. II. 249.]

[p] [27th April, 1551. King Edward's Journal, 37.]

[q] [The allowing mass to be said in the house of this princess was connived at in the early part of this reign, but never officially permitted, (King Edward's Journal, 16, 31, 41;) and this was done, to use the king's own words, (ib 34,) "in "hope of her reconciliation." See also his letter to the princess, Fox, II. 703 But finding that the effect desired had not been produced, the king and his council resolved that the mass should no longer be permitted in her house For breaking this order, "and saying "mass before her household, "the princess being absent," Dr. Mallet was sent to the Tower, (ib 37, 41.) See the letters which passed upon this occasion, in Fox, II. 701, sq]

A. D. 1550. 4 Ed. VI.

" tector at the next par-"
" liament, and stood to the"
" denial, the earl of Rut-"
" land affirming it mani-"
" festly (19)."
" Feb. 13th. The bishop"
" of Winchester, after a"
" long trial, was deposed"
" of his bishopric."

(19) Now were the seeds sown, and the foundation laid, of the protector's overthrow, which ensued not long after.

It seems some legal formalities were pretended wanting in Gardiner his deprivation; for in my memory a suit was commenced to overthrow a long lease made by bishop Poinet (Gardiner's successor in Winchester[r]) on this point, that Gardiner still remained lawful bishop; but nothing therein was effected.

The conception of nonconformity.

23. Come we now to the saddest difference that ever happened in the church of England, if we consider either the time how long it continued, the eminent persons therein engaged, or the doleful effects thereby produced. It was about matters of conformity[s]. Alas! that men should have less wisdom than locusts, which, when sent on God's errand, *did not thrust one another*[t]; whereas here such shoving and shouldering, and hoisting and heavings, and jostling and thronging, betwixt clergymen of the highest parts and places: for now nonconformity in the days of king Edward was conceived, which afterward in the reign of queen Mary (but beyond

[r] [5 April, 1551. See King Edward's Journal, 35.]

[s] [On these dissensions, see Burnet, II. 314, III. 331. Strype's Mem. II. 224. and App. 118. Strype's Cr. 211.]

[t] Joel ii. 8.

sea, at Frankfort) was born; which in the reign of queen Elizabeth was nursed and weaned; which under king James grew up a young youth or tall stripling; but towards the end of king Charles his reign shot up to the full strength and stature of a man, able not only to cope with, but conquer, the hierarchy, its adversary. A.D. 1550. 4 Ed. VI.

24. Two opposite parties now plainly discovered themselves, driving on different interests under their respective patrons. The favourers and opposers thereof.

Founders of Conformity.	*Founders of Nonconformity.*
i. Such as remained here all the reign of king Henry the Eighth, and weathered out the tempest of his tyranny at open sea, partly by a politic compliance, and partly by a cautious concealment of themselves.	i. Such as fled hence beyond the seas, chiefly into Germany, where, living in states and cities of popular reformation, they sucked in both the air and discipline of the place they lived in.
ii. These, in the days of king Edward the Sixth, were possessed of the best preferments in the land.	ii. These, returning late into England, were at a loss for means and maintenance, only supported with the reputation of being confessors; rendering their patience to the praise, and their persons to the pity of all conscientious people.
iii. And retained many	iii. And renounced all

A.D. 1550 4 Ed. VI

ceremonies practised in the Romish church, conceiving them to be ancient and decent in themselves [u].

ceremonies practised by the papists, conceiving that such ought not only to be clipped with the shears, but to be shaved with a razor; yea, all the stumps thereof to be plucked out.

iv. The authority of Cranmer and activity of Ridley headed this party; the former being the highest, the latter the hottest in defence of conformity.

iv. John Rogers, lecturer in St. Paul's, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, with John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, were ringleaders of this party.

This John Hooper was bred in Oxford, well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, (a little of the last would go far in this age,) and afterwards travelled over into Switzerland; yea, he seemed to some to have brought Switzerland back with him, in his harsh, rough, and unpleasant behaviour, being grave into rigour, and severe into surliness [x]. Yet, to speak truth, all Hooper's ill-nature consisted in other men's little acquaintance with him. Such as visited him once, condemned him of over-austerity; who repaired to him twice, only suspected him of the same; who conversed with him constantly, not only acquitted him of all morosity, but commended him for sweetness of manners; which, saith my author,

[u] [Their arguments and those of their adversaries are briefly summed up by Burnet, II. 155.]

[x] [See an instance of this in Fox, III. 146.]

Godwin in the Bishops of Gloucester [y], endeared him to the acquaintance of Bullinger. This Hooper was preferred to be bishop of Gloucester by the special favour of his patron, John earl of Warwick, afterward duke of Northumberland. A. D. 1550 4 Ed. VI.

25. The worst was, when Hooper came to be consecrated bishop of Gloucester [z], he scrupled the wearing of certain episcopal ornaments, (rochet, chimere, square cap, &c.) producing a letter from the earl of Warwick [a], (omniprevalent then at court, in the declining of his corrival the duke of Somerset,) that he might be favourably dispensed with therein, according to the tenor ensuing, to archbishop Cranmer [b]. Hooper refuseth to wear the episcopal habit.

"After my most hearty commendations to your "grace, these may be to desire the same, that in "such reasonable things wherein this bearer, my "lord elect of Gloucester, craveth to be borne withal "at your hands, you would vouchsafe to shew him "your grace's favour, the rather at this my instance. "Which thing partly I have taken in hand by the "king's majesty's own motion. The matter is "weighed by his highness, none other but that your "grace may facilely condescend unto. The prin-"cipal cause is, that you would not charge this said

y [P. 552.]

z [June, 1550.]

a [Principally through the influence of his former master, sir John Arundel, who was in great favour with the duke. Wood's Ath. I. 223.]

b [Burnet's Hist II 386. Strype's Cran 302. That Hooper was unreasonably severe will be seen by Peter Martyr's letter addressed to him upon the use of garments, of which an abstract is given in Strype's Cran 305. See also his Mem II. 1, 352. The archbishop's letter to Bucer for his judgment on this subject is printed in Cranmer's Works, I. 341.]

A. D. 1550. 4 Ed. VI

" bearer with an oath burdenous to his conscience.
" And so for lack of time I commit your grace to
" the tuition of Almighty God.
" From Westminster, the 23rd of July, 1550.
" Your Grace's most assured loving Friend,
" J. WARWICK [c]."

What this oath was (because not expressed) is variously conjectured. Parsons, to render Hooper more odious, will have it the oath of supremacy [d]; which, in my opinion, is improbable, it being utterly unlikely that the king would dispense with any from taking that oath, wherein his own dignity was so nearly concerned. I conceive it the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop [e], which consequentially commanded such ceremonies, which Hooper was willing to decline; for in the king's next letter, wrote thirteen days after to the same purpose, there is mention only of offensive rites and ceremonies, and of no oath at all, as coincident with the former and obligatory to such canonical observances. But see the letter:

[*The King's Letter or Grant for the Dispensation of John Hooper, elected Bishop of Gloucester; written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Bishops.*]

" Right reverend father, and right trusty and well-

[c] [From Fox, III. 147]

[d] [And such is bishop Burnet's opinion, II. 388, 389 See the oath of supremacy, as it was made when the bishops did homage in king Henry the Eighth's time, with such alterations as were introduced by Edward the Sixth at Hooper's request. Burnet, vol. III. P. ii. p. 268]

[e] [Such was Burnet's earlier opinion, (which he seems to have abandoned,) Ref. II. 318, and Strype's; Cranmer, 302. The form of the oath is in Wilkins, IV. 67.]

" beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we, by the A. D. 1550.
" advice of our councel, have called and chosen 4 Ed. VI.
" our right well-beloved and well-worthy M. John
" Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of
" Glocester, as well for his great knowledge, deep
" judgment, and long study, both in the scriptures
" and other profane learning; as also for his good
" discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that
" kinde of vocation, [to the intent all our loving
" subjects, which are his said charge, and elsewhere,
" might by his sound and true doctrine learn the
" better their duty towards God, their obedience
" towards us, and love towards their neighbours:]
" from consecrating of whom we understand you
" doe stay, because he would have you omit and let
" passe certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his
" conscience, whereby ye thinke ye should fall in
" *præmunire* of laws; we have thought good, by
" the advise aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you
" of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures
" you should run and be in any manner of way, by
" omitting any of the same. And these our letters
" shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge
" therefore.

" Given under our signet, at our castle of Wind-
" sor, the 5. of August, the 4. year of our reign.

" ED. SOMERSET. W. PAGET.
" W. WILTSHIRE. AN. WINGFIELD.
" W. NORTH. N. WOTTON [f]."

All would not do. Resolute Ridley stood stiffly

[f] [From Fox, III 146.]

A. D. 1550. 4 Ed VI. to his tackling; and here was old bandying of the business betwixt them, and arguments urged on both sides [g].

Pro.	*Con.*
i. The ornaments were indifferent of themselves, and of ancient use in the church.	i. The best thing that could be said of them was, that they were useless, being otherwise ridiculous and superstitious.
ii. Being enjoined by lawful authority, they became necessary, not to salvation, but to church unity; and it was scandalous to decline them.	ii. *Cursed be he that removes the boundmarks.* Grant them indifferent in themselves, and left so by divine wisdom, it was presumption in man to stamp necessity upon them.
iii. It would bring the papist over to our church, beholding all things by them used not totally abolished by a spirit of contradiction, but some decent correspondencies still moderately continued.	iii. Too much of the serpent, nothing of the dove herein, to offend those within, to invite those without to the church; driving Protestants thence, to draw papists thither.
iv. It would cast a slur on the credit of such bishops who formerly had	iv. The credits of some good men were not to be preserved by destroy-

[g] [See his arguments in Burnet, II. 389, and in Strype's Cr. p. 305.]

used those ornaments, as more remiss in religion than such as refused them.

v. Those that have stubborn wills pretend too often to tender consciences; nor ought a private person to be indulged with the disturbance of the public uniformity of the church.

ing the consciences of others. A. D. 1550. 4 Ed. VI.

v. Hooper put himself upon the trial of the *Searcher of hearts*, that no obstinacy, but mere conscience, made him refuse those ornaments.

In a word, all those arguments which later ages have more amply enlarged, more clearly explained, more cunningly improved, more violently enforced, were then and there first solidly propounded and solemnly set down on both sides; posterity in this matter having discovered no new mine, but only refined what formerly was found out in this controversy.

26. At last the great earl of Warwick deserted his chaplain in open field, to shift for himself. Indeed he had higher things in his head than to attend such trifles; not so much to procure a mitre for his chaplain as a crown for himself, even then secretly laying a design to derive the sceptre into his own family; yea, Hooper was sent to prison [h], and kept some days in durance [i], till at last he condescended

But is forced at last.

[h] [27th Jan. 1551. Strype's Cran. 215.]

[i] His imprisonment not mentioned in Mr. Fox, but in the Troubles of Frankfort, 42. [The following is the passage alluded to: "This man being "made bishop by king Edward, "there was obtruded by other "bishops of the same order,

A. D. 1550. 4 Ed. VI. to conform himself in his habit to the rest of his brethren, and so was consecrated bishop of Gloucester.

Defended for keeping Worcester *in commendam.*

27. But that which most opens the mouths of papists and other adversaries against Hooper is, because he, who scrupled the poor bishopric of Gloucester, afterward held the wealthy bishopric of Worcester *in commendam* with it[k]. We read of a *wedge of gold*[1]; and little wedges, say they, widen men's consciences for the receiving of greater; yea, thus the haters of marriage first become guilty of bigamy. But let such know, first, that the dioceses of Gloucester and Worcester lie both contiguous together; secondly, many single bishoprics in England are larger than both, for extent in land and number of parishes; thirdly, no worse a man than St. Dunstan himself had the bishopric of Worcester and London with it, at the same time, being far more distant and remote; fourthly, it is not the having of two bishoprics together, but the neglecting of one is the sin: whereas Hooper, in preaching and

" according to this Book [of " Common Prayer], a rochet " and a bishop's robe. This " man being well learned and " a long time nourished and " brought up in Germany, as " soon as he refused these " proud things that fools mar- " vel at, he was cast into pri- " son; and at length, by their " importunity overcome, and " relenting, he was compelled, " to his shame, to give place to " their impudency with the " common grief and sorrow of " all godly minds." These are the words of the dissenting congregation at Frankfort, in their supplication to the senate]

[k] [10th May, 1552. King Edward's Journal, 76. See Ant. Wood, II. 758. Burnet, II. 418. Strype's Mem. II. 354-5. Hooper was imprisoned for declaiming in the pulpit against the habits, and for direct disobedience to the orders of the privy council. See Strype's Cr. 308.]

[1] Jos. vii. 21.

visiting, afforded double diligence in his double diocese. A. D. 1550. 4 Ed. VI.

28. The mention of Hooper his holding of the bishopric of Worcester *in commendam* minds me of a difficulty which, though I cannot answer, I must not omit. It is this: seeing that Latimer was outed of that bishopric in the days of king Henry the Eighth, on the account of the Six Articles [m], why was he not restored to the same under king Edward the Sixth? especially seeing Nicholas Heath, his successor, was legally deprived, and the place actually void; whereas, on the contrary, Hugh Latimer continued Hugh Latimer, without any addition of preferment. Here first we must largely trade in negatives: it was not for any want of favour from the king, seeing he stood *rectus in curia* in relation to his majesty; nor was it because his downright sermons disobliged the courtiers, who generally delight in soft preaching as in *soft clothing* [n]; nor was it out of sullenness, because he would not be bedded again with that wife which, though unwillingly, had in his absence embraced another; nor have we any cause to suspect Latimer of Hooper's opinion, as distasting ceremonies, and so obstructing his advancement. But we impute it either to his conscience, (ofttimes sharpest in the bluntest men,) because he would not be built on the ruins of another, especially knowing Heath one of a meek and moderate nature; or to his age, who, Barzillai-like [o], was superannuated for earthly honour (alas! what needed a square cap over the many nightcaps which

Why Latimer was not restored to the bishopric of Worcester.

[m] [Stow, 595.] [n] Matt. xi. 8. [o] 2 Sam. xix. 35.

A. D. 1550. 4 Ed VI

age had multiplied on his reverend head?); or because he found himself not so fit for government, better for preaching than ordering ecclesiastical affairs; or, lastly, because he prophetically foresaw that the ingratitude of the English nation would shorten their happiness and king Edward's life, and he was loath to come into a place only to go out thereof. Sure I am it was a loud lie which Parsons tells, that Latimer was kept bare [p], who kept himself bare, living not in the want, but neglect, yea, contempt of all worldly wealth. He was confessor-general to all Protestants troubled in mind; yea, he was the Corban or treasury, into which restored ill-gotten goods were cast, to be bestowed on the poor according to his discretion; and Latimer, by the courtesy of England, (once a bishop and ever a bishop,) was in civility saluted lord, and honoured by all good people that knew him. This I conceive the true cause why Hooper would not be translated to Worcester, but held it *in commendam* with Gloucester, because Latimer and Heath were both surviving, each accounted a lawful bishop by those of their own religion.

Hooper and Ridley reconciled by afflictions.

29. But when Hooper, unwillingly willing, wore those episcopal ornaments, he put on with them a great grudge against Ridley, who enforced him thereunto; yea, when those his clothes may be

[p] [Three Conversions, vol. II p. 306. It is probable that Latimer was unwilling to return to his bishopric; for the house of commons moved that he should be restored. But though no longer a bishop, his influence appears to have been undiminished, if we may judge from his frequent preaching before the king. "He was "kept by Cranmer at Lambeth, "where he spent the rest of "his days till he was impri-"soned, in queen Mary's "time" Burnet, II. 51, 195.]

presumed half worn out, his anger was new and fresh as at the beginning; nor were they fully reconciled till their death, in the days of queen Mary: high time then to period their passion, before *the sun* (of their life) *went down in their wrath.* Strange that their heart-burnings could not be quenched till the fire was kindled which was to burn both their bodies. But it matters not what is the cause, if amendment be the effect. The Jesuit challengeth the credit of this reconciliation to the catholics, bragging that they made them friends[q]; but we know their cruel intention was not to make friends, but ashes of them. Let the thanks be paid to that Divine Power and Providence which sanctified their sufferings into an agreement, besides, beyond, above, against the design and desire of those which inflicted them. Thus, when froward children fall out and fight, a good parent and a good rod do quickly make them friends. See the letters at large in master Fox[r], which passed betwixt them in prison; wherein, as Hooper had the honour first to offer agreement, let Ridley receive his praise that he did fast embrace it[s]; for as the second blow makes the fray, so it is not the tender but acceptance of peace makes the reconciliation. As for their observation, that of all the Marian-martyrs Hooper and Ridley suffered with most torture, and impute this to a divine punishment, justly inflicted on them for this their dissen- A.D. 1550. 4 Ed. VI.

q Parsons, ut supra, pag. 316.

r [Fox, III. 147.]

s [I am uncertain upon what authority this is stated by Fuller, except he draws this inference from Ridley's letter to Hooper, in Fox, III. 148; but until we possess the other letters this cannot be determined.]

A.D 1550 4 Ed. VI. sion, there is somewhat of curiosity in the observation, and nothing of charity in the application.

Three sorts of nonconformists.

30. We must not forget that this earnest contest was not about the calling, but clothes; not the vocation, but only about the vestments of bishops. Whereupon the judicious reader will distinguish three ranks, or, if the word be better liked, three classes of nonconformists, according to their several dates and designs:

i. Ancient nonconformists, here in king Edward's days, who desired only to shake down the leaves of episcopacy, misliking only some garments about them.

ii. Middle nonconformists, in the end of queen Elizabeth and beginning of king James, who struck at the branches thereof, chancellors and officials, and other appendant limbs, which they endeavoured to remove.

iii. Modern nonconformists, who did *lay the axe to the root of the tree*, to cut down the function itself as unlawful and Antichristian.

Thus after-ages still made new additions, as if it would be accounted idleness in them if the strong and active legs of the sons and nephews should not go faster and further than the old and feeble feet of their fathers and grandfathers.

The Psalms translated into metre.

31. About this time David's Psalms were translated into English metre, and, if not publicly commanded, generally permitted to be sung in all churches. The work was performed by Thomas Sternhold[t], (an Hampshire man, esquire, and of the

[t] [Bale, De Script., Cent. IX. §. 79. It is probable that Strype's opinion is more correct, that Sternhold composed several of them at first merely for his own solace, "for he

privy chamber to king Edward the Sixth, who for his part translated thirty-seven selected psalms,) John Hopkins, Robert Wisedome, &c., men whose piety was better than their poetry; and they had drank more of Jordan than of Helicon. These psalms were therefore translated to make them more portable in people's memories, (verses being twice as light as the selfsame bulk in prose,) as also to raise men's affections, the better to enable them to practise the apostle's precept, *Is any merry? let him sing psalms* [u]. Yet this work met afterwards with some frowns in the faces of great clergymen, who were rather contented than well pleased with the singing of them in churches; I will not say because they misliked so much liberty should be allowed the laity (Rome only can be guilty of so great envy) as to sing in churches; rather because they conceived these singing-psalms erected in corrivality and opposition to the reading psalms which were formerly sung in cathedral churches; or else the child was disliked for the mother's sake, because such translators, though branched hither, had their root in Geneva. A. D. 1550. 4 Ed VI.

32. Since, later men have vented their just exceptions against the baldness of the translation; so The meanness of the translation

" set and sung them to his " organ, which music king Edward VI sometimes hearing, " (for he was a gentleman of " the privy chamber,) was much " delighted with them, which " occasioned his publication " and dedication of them to " the said king. After, when " the whole Book of Psalms, " with some other hymns, were " completely finished in verse, " (done, it seems, by Hopkins " and certain other exiles in " queen Mary's reign,) this " clause in the aforesaid Act " [of Uniformity] gave them " their authority for their public use in the church." Mem. II. 86.]

[u] James v. 13.

A D. 1550 4 Ed VI. endeavoured to be excused

that sometimes they make the Maker of the tongue to speak little better than barbarism, and have in many verses such poor rhyme that two hammers on a smith's anvil would make better music; whilst others, rather to excuse it than defend it, do plead that English poetry was then in the nonage, not to say infancy thereof; and that, match these verses for their age, they shall go abreast with the best poems of those times. Some, in favour of the translators, allege that to be curious therein and over-descanting with wit had not become the plain song and simplicity of an holy style. But these must know there is great difference between painting a face and not washing it. Many since have far refined these translations, but yet their labours therein never generally received in the church, principally because un-book-learned people have conned by heart many psalms of the old translation, which would be wholly disinherited of their patrimony if a new edition were set forth. However, it is desired and expected by moderate men that, though the fabric stand unremoved for the main, yet some bad contrivance therein may be mended, and the bald rhymes in some places get a new nap, which would not much discompose the memory of the people.

The first legal erection of the Dutch congregation in London.

33. On the twenty-fourth of July, king Edward, by his letters patent, at the request of John à Lasco, free baron of Lasco in Poland, did, by the consent of his council, give and grant the whole church of St. Augustine's [x], near Broad Street in London, (the

[x] [Burnet, II 318. Strype's Mem. II. 241. "June 29th, "[1550,] it was appointed "that the Germans should "have the Austin Friars for "their church, to have their "service in, for avoiding all "sect of Anabaptists and such

choir excepted, formerly possessed by marquis Pau- A D. 1550.
let,) unto the superintendent and ministers of the 4 Ed VI.
Dutch church, and other strangers in London, to have and to hold for them, their heirs and successors, in frank-almonage, to be a meeting-place for them, therein to attend God's word and sacraments. He ordered, also, that hereafter it should be called by the new name of "the Church of the Lord Jesus;" and incorporated the said superintendent, ministers, and congregation to be a body politic, for all purposes and intents; empowering them from time to time, in the vacancy of a superintendent, to choose, name, and substitute any able and fit person in that place: provided that the person so chosen be first presented to the king, his heirs and successors, to be approved and confirmed by them in the office of the ministry, enjoining all archbishops, bishops, and other officers, *quod permittant præfatis superintendenti*[y], *et ministris, et successoribus suis, libere et quiete frui, gaudere, uti et exercere ritus, et cæremonias suas proprias, et disciplinam ecclesiasticam propriam et peculiarem, non obstante quod non conveniant cum ritibus et cæremoniis in regno nostro usitatis*: "That "they permit the foresaid superintendent and minis- "ters, and their successors, freely and quietly to "hold, enjoy, use, and exercise their own proper "rites and ceremonies, and their proper and peculiar "church-discipline, notwithstanding that they agree

"like." King Edward's Journal, 24.]

[y] The letters are kept in the Dutch church, and exemplified in Johannes Utenhovius, in his narration of the Dutch Congregation, ["Simplex et fidelis "narratio de instituta ac de- "mum dissipata Belgarum Ec- "clesia," &c.] p. 13, &c. [These letters are printed in full from the patent rolls, 4 Edw. VI., in Burnet, II. ii. 288. Wilkins, IV 64.]

A.D 1550 4 Ed VI. "not with the rites and ceremonies used in our "kingdom."

Women's brawls, men's thralls.

34. Now followed the fatal tragedy of the duke of Somerset; and we must recoil a little, to fetch forward the cause thereof[z]. Thomas Seymour, baron

[z] [Fox, II 748. Burnet, II. 110, 203, and II. 11. 5. Strype's Mem II 123. [On this passage Burnet remarks, though without naming our author, "It is generally said "that all this difference be- "tween the brothers was begun "by their wives, and that the "protector's lady, being offend- "ed that the younger brother's "wife had the precedence of "her, which she thought be- "longed to herself, did there- "upon raise and inflame the "differences. But in all the "letters that I have seen con- "cerning this breach, I could "never find any such thing "once mentioned; nor is it "reasonable to imagine that "the duchess of Somerset "should be so foolish as to "think that she ought to have "the precedence of the queen "dowager; therefore I look "upon this story as a mere "fiction, though it is probable "enough there might, upon "some other accounts, have "been some animosities be- "tween the two high-spirited "ladies, which might have "afterwards been thought to "have occasioned their hus- "bands' quarrel." II 112. Fox, whom the other chroniclers follow, says merely, "It happened, "*upon what occasion I know* "*not*, that there fell a displea- "sure betwixt the said queen "and the duchess of Somerset, "and thereupon also, in behalf "of their wives, displeasure "and grudge began between "the brethren." II. 748. That Katherine had some very sharp words with Somerset we learn from her letters to her husband, in Haynes' State Papers, 61, 62, though the duke's hostility may have arisen merely from chagrin at the ambition and success of his brother It is not impossible, however, that as the duke had the year before procured a patent under the great seal, by which "he was "warranted to sit in parlia- "ment on the right hand of "the throne, and was to have "all the honours and privileges "that at any time any of the "uncles of the kings of Eng- "land, whether by the father's "or the mother's side, had en- "joyed, with a *non obstante* "to the statute of preced- "ence," (Burnet, II. 81,) that his duchess might suppose that in right of her husband she might be allowed to take precedence of the queen dowager. And this is rendered more probable from the confession of Wightman, servant to the admiral, who, relating a conversation between himself and Nicholas Throckmorton, on occasion of the

of Sudely, and lord admiral, the protector's younger brother, had married the lady Katharine Parr, the relict of king Henry the Eighth. A contest arose betwixt their wives about place, the protectress, as I may call her, refusing to give it to the king's dowager; yet was their precedency no measuring cast, but clear in the view of any unpartial eye; nor needed other herald to decide the controversy than the king's own injunctions, wherein, after prayer for his own royal person[a], ministers were commanded to pray for the queen-dowager even before the king's sisters, Mary and Elizabeth; the protector (under whom his lady must claim place) being placed last in the list of their devotions. A.D. 1550. 4 Ed. VI

35. The women's discords derived themselves into their husbands' hearts; whereupon, not long after, followed the death of the lord Thomas Seymour, arraigned for designing to translate the crown to himself, though having neither title to pretend unto Lord Thomas Seymour executed for treason.

death of queen Katherine, has this passage. "'I promise you,' "said he [Throckmorton], 'if "my lord be either wise or "politic, he will become a new "manner of man, both in heart "and service; for he must "remember that if ever any "grudge were borne towards "him by my lady of Somerset, "it was, as most men guess, "for the queen's cause, who "now being taken away by "death, it will undoubtedly "follow, unless the fault be in "himself, that she will bear "him as good heart as ever "she did in her life'" Haynes' State Papers, 69. This dissension, however, between the two brothers, whatever was the primary cause of it, was carefully fostered by designing hands; for Elizabeth, in a letter to her sister, says, "In late "days I heard my lord of "Somerset say, that if his bro-"ther had been suffered to "speak with him, he had never "suffered; but the persuasions "were made to him so great, "that he was brought in belief "that he could not live safely "if the admiral lived; and that "made him give his consent "to his death." Ellis, second series, II. 257.]

[a] Vide supra, p 605.

A. D. 1550 4 Ed. VI.

it, nor effectual interest to achieve the same [b]. Let Adonijah [c] and this lord's example deter subjects from meddling with the widows of their sovereigns, lest in the same match they espouse their own danger and destruction. This lord thus cut off, the protector stood alone on his own bottom, at which his enemies daily endeavoured to undermine [him].

A tripartite accusation.

36. Soon after, the lords of the council resolved to accuse him of many high offences [d]. Of these lords, some were lawyers, as the lord Wriothesley lately; the lord Rich, then lord chancellor; sir Edward Montague, chief justice, &c.: some martialists, as sir Ralph Sadler, treasurer to the army: and some mere statesmen, as William Paulet, lord treasurer: and their accusations participated of the several conditions of the accusers. The lawyers charge him for bringing Westminster Hall into Somerset House, keeping there a court of request, and therein determining titles of land, to the apparent injury of the subject. Military men taxed him for his sumptuous buildings, having their mortar tempered with the tears of soldiers' wives and children, whose wages he detained; and for betraying Boulogne and other places in France to the enemy. Statesmen chiefly insisted on his engrossing all power to himself; that whereas, by the constitution of the protectorship, he was to act nothing without the advice of king Henry's executors, he solely transacted matters of the highest consequence without their privity.

Earl of Warwick

37. Here I must set John Dudley, earl of War-

[b] [20th March, 1549. See Stow, 596.]

[c] 1 Kings ii.

[d] [Stow, 597—601 Fox, II.748 Burnet, II.276. Strype's Mem. II. 181]

wick, (as a transcendant,) in a form by himself, being a competent lawyer, (son to a judge,) known soldier, and able statesman, and acting against the protector to all these his capacities. Indeed he was the very soul of the accusation, being all in all, and all in every part thereof; and seeing the protector was free-spirited, open-hearted, humble, hard to distrust, easy to forgive; the other proud, subtle, close, cruel, and revengeful: it was *impar congressus* betwixt them, almost with as much disadvantage as betwixt a naked and an armed person [e]. A. D. 1550. 4 Ed. VI. the protector's grand enemy.

38. Hereupon he was imprisoned at Windsor, in a place anciently called Beauchamp's Tower [f], it seems by a sad prolepsis, but never verified till now, when this viscount Beauchamp (by his original honour) was therein confined, and hence was he removed to the Tower of London. However, although all this happened in the worst juncture of time, viz. in the disjuncture of his best friend (the lord Russell, The protector accused and imprisoned, yet restored.

[e] [These articles are printed in Burnet, II. ii. 269, in Holinshed, 1059, and in Stow, 601, where will be found also, at full length, Somerset's acknowledgment and submission, which he made upon the 23rd of December. He was not, however, released till the 6th of February following, after a second submission, which he made on the 2nd of that month. In that paper he says, "I am most "fearful and full of heaviness, "my very good lords, to un- "derstand that my last letters "were no better accepted at "your lordships' hands, to "whom I am bound during "my life for your most gentle "and merciful dealing with "me, that it pleased your "goodness to bring my case "to a fine. Although the fine "be to me importable, yet I "do commit myself wholly to "his highness' and your lord- "ships' mercies. I pray only "the moderation of it." He was again committed to the Tower on the 16th of Oct. 1551, and brought thence to his trial in Westminster Hall on the 1st of December; lord William Paulet, marquis of Winchester and lord high treasurer of England, sitting that day under the cloth of estate as high steward of England]

[f] Fox, II. 752.

A.D. 1551. 5 Ed VI. privy seal,) then away in the west, yet by his own innocence, his other friends' endeavour, the king's interposing, and Divine Providence, he was acquitted, and, though outed his protectorship, restored and continued privy counsellor, as in the king's diary was formerly observed [g].

Accused the second time.

39. But after two years and two months his enemies began afresh to assault him, hoping that as the first stroke shaked, the next would fell him to the ground [h]. Indeed Warwick, who had too powerful an influence upon all the lords, could not erect his intended fabric of sovereignty except he first cleared the groundwork from all obstructive rubbish, whereof this duke of Somerset was the principal; in whose absence the lords met at the council-table, where it was contrived how all things should be ordered in relation to his arraignment.

Lord Rich his servant's dangerous mistake

40. Richard Rich, lord chancellor, (then living in Great St. Bartholomew's,) though outwardly concurring with the rest, began now secretly to favour the duke of Somerset, and sent him a letter, therein acquainting him with all passages at the council-board, superscribing the same (either out of haste or familiarity) with no other direction save "To the Duke;" enjoining his servant (a raw attendant, as newly entered into the family) safely to deliver it [i]. The

[g] [Strype's Mem. II. 292.]

[h] [Burnet, II 366. Strype's Mem. II. 281, 306.]

[i] This story attested to me by his great grandchild, the earl of Warwick. [If Fuller's anecdote respecting lord Rich be correct, it is probable that he feigned sickness as a motive for delivering the seal; for king Edward has made the following entry in his Journal, at Dec. 21: "Richard lord Rich, chancellor of England, considering his sickness, did deliver his seal to the lord treasurer, [William Paulet, marquis of Winchester,] the lord great master, [William lord St. John,] and the lord cham-

man made more haste than good speed; and his lord, wondering at his quick return, demanded of him where the duke was when he delivered him the letter. "In Charter House," said his servant, "on "the same token that he read it at the window and "smiled thereat." But the lord Rich smiled not at this relation, as sadly sensible of the mistake and delivery of the letter to the duke of Norfolk [k], no great friend of his, and an utter enemy to the duke of Somerset. A. D. 1551 5 Ed. VI.

41. Wonder not if this lord rose early up the next morning, who may be presumed not to have slept all night. He hieth to the court, and having gotten admittance into the bedchamber before the king was risen up, fell down on his knees, and desired that his old age might be eased of his burthensome office; pleading that there ought to be some preparatory interval in statesmen betwixt their The lord Rich resigneth his chancellor's place.

"berlain, [Thomas Dudley, "duke of Northumberland,] "sent to him for that purpose "during the time of his sick- "ness, and chiefly of the par- "liament." p. 63. Sir Thomas Hayward insinuates the same in his Life of Edward VI., p. 331; at which assertion Strype is somewhat indignant. Mem. II. 291. The king further notes in his Journal: "22nd [Dec. "1551]. The great seal of "England delivered to the "bishop of Ely, to be keeper "thereof during the lord Rich's "sickness." p. 64. And again: "Jan. 19, [1552]. The bishop "of Ely *custos sigilli* was made "chancellor, because as *custos* "*sigilli* he could execute no- "thing in the parliament that "should be done, but only to "seal ordinary things." Ib. 67. Goodrich was preferred to this place probably by the interest of the duke of Northumberland, and on account of his enmity to Somerset. Besides, Northumberland and Goodrich were both papists; the former confessing as much at his execution, the latter complying in queen Mary's reign. For his character, see Burnet, II. 376. Strype, however, speaks of him more favourably. Mem. II. 293.]

[k] [Thomas Howard. See the letters between the protector and this lord, in Fox, II. 749. He does not appear to have been any very great friend to the duke.]

A D. 1551. 5 Ed VI. temporal business and their death; in order to which he desired to retire into Essex, there to attend his own devotions; nor would he rise from the ground till the king had granted his request. And thus he saved himself from being stripped by others, by first putting off his own clothes, who otherwise had lost his chancellor's place for revealing the secrets of the council-board. Some days after, the seal was solemnly fetched from him, and conferred on doctor Goodrich, bishop of Ely[l].

The duke of Somerset impeached of treason. Dec. 1. 42. The impeachment of the duke went on nevertheless, and two nets were laid to catch him, that if one brake, the other might hold. He was indicted of treason and felony: the former was only to give the report, the latter to discharge the bullet. So great a peer could not be accused of less than high treason, that the offence might appear proportionable to the offender. However, he was acquitted of treason; whereat the people in Westminster Hall gave such a shout, that though the same was intercepted and circumscribed by the house, it is reported to be heard as far as Long Acre[m].

Sad silence. 43. But this sound was seconded with a sad silence when he was condemned for felony, by a new-made statute, for plotting the death of a privy counsellor, namely, the earl of Warwick[n]. Here a

[l] [21st Dec. 1551. Stow's Chron. 607.]

[m] Stow's Chron. 606.

[n] [Burnet, mentioning the different opinions of people upon the death of the duke, how that some looked upon his fall as a retribution and a just judgment upon him for devising the fall of the duke of Norfolk and his son, others for his want of natural affection in the proceedings against his brother, observes further that some also "blamed him for "being too apt to convert "things sacred to his own use, "and because a great part of "his estate was raised out of "the spoils of many churches;

strange oversight was committed, that he craved not the benefit of the clergy, which could not legally be denied him; on the granting whereof the ensuing punishment had certainly been remitted; and not long after he was beheaded on Tower Hill, with no less praise for his piety and patience than pity and grief of the beholders [o].

A.D. 1551. 5 Ed. VI.

44. Posterity is much unsatisfied in the justness of his suffering, and generally do believe that he

A quære for posterity.

" and some late writers have " made an inference upon this, " upon his not claiming the " benefit of clergy, that he was " thus left of God not to plead " that benefit, since he had so " much invaded the rights and " services of the church. But " in this they shewed their ig- " norance; for, by the statute, " that felony of which he was " found guilty was not to be " purged by clergy." Ref. II. 384]

How great a favourite he was with the people may be seen from their conduct at his trial and execution, and the unusual preparations made by the lords of the council to prevent the populace from rescuing him. Fox, II 753. Stow, 606. On the day of his trial, 1st Dec. 1551, when the verdict was given against him for the charge of felony, " the people in the hall " supposed he had been clearly " quit when they saw the axe " of the Tower put down, [and] " made such a shriek, casting " up of caps, &c., that their " cry was heard to the Long " Acre beyond Charing Cross, " which made the lords astonied. About five of the " clock at night the said duke " landed at the Crane in the " Vintry, and so was had " through Candlewick Street " to the Tower." There he lay until the 22nd of January following. Fox has given an account of his execution, sent him " by a certain noble per- " sonage who not only was " there present at the deed " doing, but also in a manner " next unto him [the duke] " upon the scaffold." II. 753. Stow was also there, and has given a better account than the other of the sudden consternation which fell upon the people attending the duke's execution.

Burnet has been more favourable to the duke than most of our historians, excepting Fox, and is inclined to think " that all this pretended con- " spiracy, upon which he was " condemned, was only a for- " gery." II. 383. The evidence for both sides of the question is summed up in a masterly way by Collier, Eccl. Hist. II. 313—316.]

[o] [22nd Jan. 1552]

A.D. 1551. 5 Ed. VI. himself was the sheep who was here condemned for the slaughter. A good author tells us that "he lost "his life for a small crime, and that upon a nice "point, subtilely devised and packed by his enemies[p]." And yet that the good king himself was possessed of his guilt may appear by his ensuing letter[q], written with his own hand to a dear servant of his, as followeth:

"To our well-beloved servant Barnaby Fitzpatrick,
"one of the gentlemen of our chamber.

"EDWARD.

"Little hath been done since you went but the "duke of Somerset's arraignment for felonious trea- "son, and the musters of the new-erected gen- "darmery. The duke, the first of this moneth, was "brought to Westminster Hall, where sate as judge "or high steward my lord treasurer[r], twenty-six lords "of the parliament went on his triall. Indictments "were read, which were severall, some for treason, "some for trayterous felony. The lawyers read how "sir Thomas Palmer had confessed that the duke "once minded and made him privy to raise the "north; after to call the duke of Northumberland[s], "the marquis of Northampton[t], and the earle of "Pembroke[u] to a feast, and so to have slain them. "And to doe this thing (as it was to be thought) "had levied men a hundred at his house at London, "which was scanned to be treason, because unlaw-

[p] Camd. Brit. in Somersetshire, [p. 175].

[q] Transcribed out of the original

[r] Paulet, marquis of Winchester.]

[s] [John Dudley, earl of Warwick.]

[t] [William Parr.]

[u] [William Herbert]

" full assemblies for such purposes was treason by an act made the last sessions. Also how the duke of Somerset minded to stay the horses of the gendarmery, and to raise London. Crane confessed also the murdering of the lords in a banquet. Sir Miles Partridge[x] also confessed the raising of London; Hamman[y] his man having a watch at Greenwich of twenty weaponed men, to resist if he had been arrested; and this confessed both Partridge and Palmer. He answered, that when he levied men at his house he meant no such thing, but onely to defend himself. The rest [he] very barely answered. After debating the matter from nine of the clock till three, the lords went together, and there weighing that the matter seemed only to touch their lives, although afterward more inconvenience might have followed, and that men might think they did it of malice, acquitted him of high treason, and condemned him of felony, which he seemed to have confessed. He, hearing the judgment, fell down on his knees, and thanked them for his open triall. After, he asked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis, &c., whom he confessed he meant to destroy, although before he swore vehemently to the contrary. Thus fare you well. A.D. 1551. 5 Ed. VI.

"From Westminster, the 20th of December, anno Domini 1551."

Hereby it plainly appeareth that the king was

[x] [A man of infamous character. See Strype's Mem. II 115.]

[y] [Hammond, in the Journal, 60, 61. Palmer was afterwards executed for treason. Strype's Cran. 315.]

A. D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.

possessed with a persuasion of his uncle's guiltiness; whether or no so in truth, God knoweth, and generally men believe him abused herein; and it seemeth a wonder to me, that six weeks (from December the 1st to January the 22nd) interceding betwixt the duke's condemnation and execution, no means were made during that time to the king for his pardon. But it is plain that his foes had stopped all access of his friends unto the king[z].

The duke's character

45. The duke of Somerset was religious himself, a lover of all such as were so, and a great promoter of reformation; valiant, fortunate, (witness his victory in Musselborough field, when the Scots filled many carts with emptiness, and loaded them with what was lighter than vanity itself—popish images and other trinkets, wherein they placed the confidence of their conquest,) he was generally beloved of martial men; yet no marvel if some did grumble against him, seeing there is no army, save that of the church triumphant, wherein the soldiers at some time or other do not complain against their general; nor is the wonder great if he sometimes trespassed

[z] [Upon this long interval between the sentence of the duke and his execution, Burnet observes, though without giving his authorities, "It seems "there was some treaty about "his pardon; for though he "was condemned on the 1st of "December, he was not exe- "cuted till the 22nd of Janu- "ary. What made it to be "respited so long, and yet "executed at last, does not "appear. It is probable it was "from a management of the "duke of Northumberland's, "who, by the delay, did seem "to act in his favour, that so "he might be covered from the "popular odium which he saw "his death was like to bring "upon him; and at the same "time, by the means of some "who had credit with the king, "he possessed him with so bad "an opinion of the duke of "Somerset, that he, looking on "him as an implacable man, "capable of black designs, re- "solved to let the sentence be "executed upon him." III.401. See Fox, II. 669]

in matters of state, seeing the most conscientious politician will now and then borrow a point of law (not to say take it for their due) even with an intent never to pay it. He was better to perform than plot, do than design. In a word, his self-hurting innocence declined into guiltiness, whose soul was so far from being open to causeless suspicions, that it was shut against just jealousies of danger [a]. A. D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.

46. He built Somerset House, where many like the workmanship better than either the foundation or materials thereof; for the houses of three bishops, (Llandaff, Coventry and Lichfield, and Worcester,) with the church of St. Mary-le-Strand, were plucked down to make room for it [b]. The stones and timber were fetched from the hospital of St. John's. This Somerset House is so tenacious of his name, that it would not change a duchy for a kingdom, when solemnly proclaimed by king James Denmark House, from the king of Denmark's lodging therein, and his sister queen Anne her repairing thereof. Surely it argueth that this duke was well beloved, because his name made such an indelible impression on this his house, whereof he was not full five years peaceably possessed. His great buildings.

47. We lately made mention of Barnaby Fitzpatrick, to whom the king directed his letter, as who The king's instructions to Fitzpatrick for his behaviour in France.

[a] [Burnet, II. 276, 278]

[b] ["Also the parish church at the Strand without Temple Barre was pulled downe, with Strond Inne, and Strond Bridge, in place whereof to build the protector's house." Stow, p. 595. "About the same time the steeple and most part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem, neere unto Smithfield, most beautifully new builded, and late finished by the lord prior, named Docwray, was undermined and overthrowne with gunpowder, the stone whereof was applied in the building of the lord protector's house at the Strond." Ib. p. 596.]

A.D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI. was bred and brought up with him from his infancy, though somewhat the older. He was prince Edward's proxy for correction, though we may presume seldom suffering in that kind, such the prince's general innocence and ingenuity to learn his book; yet when such execution was done, as Fitzpatrick was beaten for the prince, the prince was beaten in Fitzpatrick, so great an affection did he bare to his servant. Towards the end of his reign he maintained him in the court of France, both to learn fashions there, and send intelligence thence; and it will not be amiss to insert the king's private instructions unto him how he should behave himself in the French court, partly for the rarity, partly for the certainty thereof, having it transcribed out of the original of the king's own hand, as followeth:

i. "First, he shall goe in the lord admiral's com-
"pany, and at the same lord's departing he shall
"have a letter to the French king, which the lord
"admirall shall deliver, and present him to the
"French king; and if it shall chance that the
"French king will give him any pension, entertain-
"ment, or reward at his being there for the time
"he tarrieth there, he shall receive it, and thank his
"majesty for it, and shall serve when he shall be
"appointed. Neverthelesse, when he is out of the
"court he shall be most conversant with Mr. Pick-
"ering [c].

ii. "And at his setting forth shall carry with him
"four servants; and if the wages amount to any
"great summe (more than I give him) that the

[c] [Ambassador at the French court]; afterwards knighted, and supposed suitor to queen Elizabeth.

" French king giveth him, to live there after that A. D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.
" proportion, advertising me of the same.

iii. " Also all this winter he shall study the " tongue, and see the manner of the court, and " advertise me of the occurrences he shall hear; " and if he be desirous to see any place notable or " town, he may goe thither, asking leave of the " king; and shall behave himself honestly, more " following the company of gentlemen than pressing " into the company of the ladies there; and his " chief pastime shall be hunting and riding.

iv. " Also his apparell, he shall wear it so fine as " shall be comely, and not much superfluous; and " the next sommer, when either the king goeth or " sendeth any man of name into the warres to be " his lieutenant, or to lead an army, he shall desire " to goe thither; and either himself or else shall " will Mr. Pickering, to declare to the French king " how he thinketh not himself to have fully satisfied " nor recompensed neither his majesties good enter- " tainment nor mine expectation who had sent him " over, if he should return, having so delicately and " idlely almost spent the time, without he did at " this time of service be desirous to goe himself into " the warres, by the which thing he might at this " time doe his majesty service, and also learn to doe " me service hereafter; yea, and his majesty to if " the case so required. And therefore, seeing this " nobleman shall now goe, that his request is to " have leave to goe with him.

v. " Having said this to the French king, he shall " depart into the warres, waiting on this nobleman " that shall be sent, and there he shall mark the " divers fortifications of places, and advantages that

A D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.

" the enemy may take, and the ordering and conduct " of the armies; as also the fashion of the skirmishes, " battles, and assaults, and the plats of the chief " towns where any enterprises of weight have been " done, he shall cause to be set out in black and " white, or otherwise, as he may and shall send " them hither to me, with advertisement of such " things as have passed.

vi. " Furthermore, he shall at all times when he " taketh money advertise me of it, and I shall send " him. And so the next year being well spent, " upon further advertisement, and taking leave of " the French king, he shall return.

vii. " And if there arise or grow any doubt in any " matter hereafter, in the which he shall need " advise, he shall advertise by the post, and shall " have answer thereof."

This Barnaby Fitzpatrick, after his return out of France, was created by the king baron of Upper Ossery in Ireland [d], and died a most excellent Protestant (as hereafter we shall shew) in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

Little church work in this parliament.

48. On the fifteenth of April the parliament ended which had sat three months at Westminster, though therein nothing of church matters determined, save a penalty imposed on such who should strike or draw weapon in church or churchyard [e], with the abolish-

[d] [Queen Elizabeth, says Burnet, II. 462. See also a brief account of him in Strype, Mem. II. 287.]

[e] [On Feb. 20th, this year, a proclamation was issued, " prohibiting frays and fight- " ings in cathedral churches, " and bringing in horses and " mules into the same; where- " by may be gathered what in- " decencies and profanations " were now practised in " churches." Strype's Mem. II. 299.]

ing of the general holy-days of St. Mary Magdalen and St. George; yet so that it should be lawful for the latter to be solemnly celebrated by the knights of the right honourable order of the garter; the orders of which order were about this time reformed and purged from some ancient superstitions [f]. A.D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.

49. Six dolphins were taken in the Thames [g], three near Queenborough, and three above Greenwich, where the Thames is scarce tainted with brackishness; insomuch that many grave men dispensed with their wisdom, and beheld them with wonder, as not seen before on our shores: a fish much loving man and music, swifter than all other fishes, and birds too; yea, than the swallow itself, if Pliny say true [h]; though all their celerity besteaded them not here to escape the nets of the fishermen. Their coming up so far was beheld by mariners as a presage of foul weather at sea, but by statesmen as a prodigious omen of some tempestuous mutations in our land; and particularly they suspected the king's death, though for the present he was very pleasant and merry in his progress about the country, as by his ensuing letter to his former favourite (written in the next August) doth appear: An ill presage. [Aug. 8.] Aug. 22.

" EDWARD.

" The cause why we have not hitherto written " unto you have partly been the lack of a convenient " messenger, partly because we meant to have some " thing worthy writing ere we would write any " thing. And therefore, being now almost in the " midst of our journey which we have undertaken " this sommer, we have thought good to advertise;

[f] [Burnet, II 422.] Stow's Chron. 608.]
[g] Godwin's Annals, [344. [h] Nat. Hist. ix. 8

A. D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.

" now since our last letters, dated at Greenwich, we " departed from thence towards a thing farre con- " trary to that wherein, as we perceive by your " diligent advertisement, you and all the countrey, " you are in, are occupied; for whereas you all have " been occupied in killing of your enemies, in long " marchings, in painfull journeys, in extreme heat, " in sore skirmishings, and divers assaults; we have " been occupied in killing of wilde beasts, in plea- " sant journeys, in good fare, in viewing of faire " countreys, and rather have sought how to fortifie " our own than to spoil another man's. And being " thus determined, came to Guilford, from thence to " Petworth, and so to Condray, a goodly house of " sir Anthony Browne's, where we were marvellously, " yea rather excessively banquetted. From thence " we went to Halvenaker, a pretty house besides " Chichester. From thence we went to Warblington, " a faire house of sir Richard Cotton's; and so to " Waltham, a faire great old house, in times past " the bishop of Winchester's, and now my lord " treasurer's house. In all these places we had both " good hunting and good cheer. From thence we " went to Portsmouth town, and there viewed not " onely the town itselfe and the haven, but also " divers bulwarks, as Chatertons, Waselford, with " other; in viewing of which we finde the bulwarks " chargeable, massey, well rampared, but ill fash- " ioned, ill flanked, and set in unmeet places; the " town weak in comparison of that it ought to be, " too huge great, for within the walls are faire and " large closes, and much vacant room; the haven " notable great, and standing by nature easie to be " fortified; and for the more strength thereof we

" have devised two strong castles on either side of A. D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.
" the haven, at the mouth thereof; for at the mouth
" the haven is not past ten score over, but in the
" middle almost a mile over, and in length for a
" mile and a half able to beare the greatest ship in
" Christendome. From thence we went to Tichfield,
" the earl of Southampton's house [i], and so to South-
" ampton town. The citizens had bestowed for our
" coming great cost in painting, repairing, and ram-
" pairing of their walls. The town is handsome,
" and, for the bignesse of it, as fair houses as be
" at London. The citizens made great cheer, and
" many of them kept costly tables. From South-
" ampton we came to Bewly, a little village in the
" middle of the New Forrest; and so to Christ-
" church, another little town in the same Forrest,
" where we now be. And having advertised you of
" all this, we thinke it not good to trouble you any
" farther with news of this countrey, but onely that
" at this time the most part of England (thanks be
" to God) is clear of any dangerous or infectious
" sicknesse. We have received all your letters, of
" the twenty-sixth of May, of the nineteenth of
" June, and the first of August. Thus fare you
" well.

" From Christchurch, the 22 of August."

But, leaving the king in his progress, we come to A threefold division of bishops

i [Henry Wriothesley, the young earl of Southampton. His father, Thomas Wriothesley, who at the beginning of this reign had been lord chancellor, and lost his place from the powerful enmity of the duke of Somerset, died 30th July, in 1550, as some think from disappointment. See Burnet, II. 9, 33, 289. Strype's Mem. II. 275. The young earl was the king's godson and ward. Strype, ib.]

A.D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI. behold the bishops in their visitations, and find them divided into three sorts:

i. Zealous Protestants; as archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, Hooper, Farrer.

ii. Zealous papists; as Gardiner, Tonstall, Bonner: which three alone were deprived of their bishoprics, and confined.

iii. Papists in heart, but outwardly conforming to the king's laws; as Heath, archbishop of York, and many other bishops.

Here it is worthy our inquiry why this latter sort, which so complied under king Edward the Sixth, should be so stubborn and obstinate under queen Elizabeth; whereof I can give but this reason assigned: that, growing older and nearer their graves, they grew more conscientious and faithful to their own (though erroneous) principles; it being in vain to dissemble now death did approach, though their younger years had been guilty of such prevarications[k].

[k] [The far more probable and just reason is to be found in the fact that the principles of the Reformation became more developed in the reign of Elizabeth, and the foreign reformers exercised a greater influence than at the first. Many would comply in 1548 who would object to compliance in 1552. The oath of supremacy could hardly have constituted the offence in Elizabeth's reign, and no articles of religion were for some years enforced.]

SECT. II.

DIGNISSIMO VIRO

CAROLO CHENEY,

DE COMITATU BUCK. ARMIGERO, MECŒNATI SUO MUNIFICENTISSIMO [a].

Ethelstanus, Saxonum monarcha, decreto sanxivit, si massere ascenderet [b], ut ter *Magnum mare* tranfretaret per proprium negotium suum, fuit deinde *Taini* dignus rectitudine. *In qua lege enucleanda, mihi aliquantillum immorandum; quum licet tibi, ut alia omnia, expedita, aliis forsitan aliquid nodi ei subesse videatur.*

1. Massere] *Mercatorem designari in confesso est.*
2. Magnum mare] *Mediterraneum intenditur, quo nomine Sacræ Scripturæ sepius innotescit* [c].

[a] [Arms. Checquy or and azure, a fess gules, fretty ermine. See the Visitations, preserved in the Harleian Collection of MSS., Nos. 1533 and 5,81. This gentleman was the third son of Francis Cheney, of Chesham Bays, esq., high sheriff of the county of Bucks. His mother's name was Anne, a daughter of sir Wm. Fleetwood, of Missenden Magna, knight. The lady to whom Fuller refers at the close of the dedication was Jane, daughter of the truly noble William marquis of Newcastle.]

[b] Spelmanni Concilia, I. 406.

[c] Num. xxxiv. 6. Josh. i 4, and xv. 12.

3. Proprium negotium] *Qua clausula excluditur servile genus, (factores dicimus,) qui non sui juris, sed Dominis rationem reddituri.*
4. Taini] *Intelligimus melioris notæ generosum.*
5. Dignus rectitudine.] *Olet hoc sæculi barbariem. Sed his verbis voluit Rex, ut censeatur* Iso-Tainus, *atque eundem honoris gradum sortiatur.*

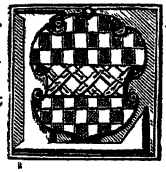
Quod si, vir clarissime, illi seculo tanta contigisset felicitas, ut tu tunc temporis vixisses, quibus titulis te decorandum Rex ille censuisset? qui, orto tuo nobilis, mare parvum, medium, magnum, omnia, (*multis aquarum terrarumque montibus superatis,*) *transivisti; idque non turpis lucri causa ut navem mercibus, sed scientiæ ergo, ut mentem dotibus instructam reportares.*

Te igitur in ipsissimo libri mei umbilico (quantum paginas scriptas, nondum impressas, æstimare potui) collocandum curavi, eo consilio, quo provida natura soli inter planetas medium locum assignavit, ut ex æquo, utrinque totum opus nomine tuo illustraretur.

Deus te tuamque conjugem non magis natalium splendore, quam propriis virtutibus speciabilem eousque protegat, dum in dubium venerit longiorve an beatior vestra vita sit reputanda.

A.D. 1552. 6 Ed VI.

Commissioners sent to inquire about church ornaments.



ATELY information was given to the king's council, that much costly furniture which was embezzled might very seasonably (such the king's present occasions) and profitably be recovered; for private men's halls were hung with altar-cloths, their tables and beds covered with copes instead of carpets and coverlets. Many drank at their daily meals in chalices; and no wonder if, in proportion, it came to the share of their horses to be watered in rich coffins of marble. And, as if first laying of hands upon them were sufficient title

unto them, seizing on them was generally the price they had paid for them. Now, although four years were elapsed since the destruction of colleges and chantries, and much of the best church ornaments was transported beyond the seas, yet the privy council thought this very gleaning in the stubble would richly be worth the while, and that on strict inquisition they should retrieve much plate in specie, and more money for moderate fines of offenders herein. Besides, whereas parish churches had still many rich ornaments left in the custody of their wardens, they resolved to convert what was superfluous or superstitious to the king's use; to which purpose commissions were issued out to some select persons in every county, according to the tenor following [d]:

A.D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI

[d] The original, under the king's hand, was lent me by Mr. Thomas Tresham, late of Geddington in Northamptonshire. [Notwithstanding the great alienation of church lands, and the stopping of part of the revenues of several bishoprics, together with the first-fruits, which must have amounted to a considerable sum on account of the many removals in this reign, the king's debts continued as oppressive as ever. In 1551 sir Thomas Gresham was sent over to Antwerp to settle the king's debts, and to take up money there for the payment of them. See Strype's Mem. II. 323, 344. To liquidate this money and pay his debts, which now amounted to 300,000*l.*, and to raise a fund of 50,000*l.* for contingencies, the king devised this course, among others: 1. To gather and coin the church plate; for which purpose this commission was issued to several persons of eminence in the different counties, empowering them to take away from the churches and convert to the king's use all such plate as was more than barely necessary for celebrating the communion. At this time also, and for the same purpose, the king resolved to sell the bell-metal and the lands of certain chantries, colleges, and houses. See Strype's Mem. II 345. And this was the reason why the promises under which this bill passed were never made good; for the preamble of the bill set forth, "that since the converting "these [the chantry lands] to "godly uses, such as the en-"dowing of schools, provisions

A. D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI. "*Instructions given by the King's Majesty to his "right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Coun- "sellor the Marquis of Northampton*[e], *and to the "rest of his Highness' Commissioners appointed for "the Survey of Church Goods within his Majesty's "County of Northampton*[f].

"EDWARD.

"First, upon the receipt of the same commission "by any one of the same commissioners, he that so "shall first receive the commission shall forthwith, "with all convenient speed, give knowledge to the "rest named in the same commission, and with "them shall agree to meet and assemble with that "speed they can for the execution of the same "commission and these instructions. And if any of "the said commissioners shall be dead, sick, or "otherwise be so absent out of the country for the "service of the king, that he cannot with speed "attend the same in that case, the rest of the "same commissioners, so that they be to the number

"for the poor, and the aug- "menting of places in the "universities, could not be "done by parliament, they "therefore committed it to "the care of the king." And they proceed to state that they put him in possession of these lands and revenues, "and ap- "point these to be converted "to the maintenance of gram- "mar schools or preachers, and "for the increase of vicarages." See Burnet, II. 95 "Thus" (to use honest Strype's words) "did this young prince mind "his royal estate, and look "after his treasure, as knowing "it the very nerves and mar- "row of the flourishing con- "dition of a kingdom." Ib. 347. See also the account of the selling of rectories, in Strype, ib. 362.]

[e] [William Parr, brother to queen Katharine, and a great favourite with Edward VI. Strype's Mem. II. 273.]

[f] [This commission was resolved upon 21st April, 1552. See king Edward's Journal, 74.]

" appointed by the commission, shall not make A. D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.
" any delay from the proceeding in the same com-
" mission, but shall forthwith allot their sittings,
" assemblies, and meetings for the same commission,
" as in like cases hath been or shall be meet to be
" used.

" *Item*, For their better and more certain pro-
" ceeding, the said commissioners shall, in such
" cases where none of the commissioners be *custos*
" *rotulorum* of that county, ne hath been since the
" beginning of our reign, command the said *custos*
" *rotulorum*, or their deputy, or the clerk of the
" peace of those parts, to bring or send unto them
" such books, registers, and inventories, as hath
" heretofore anywise come to their hands, by inden-
" ture, touching the sums, numbers, and values of
" any goods, plate, jewels, vestments and bells, or
" ornaments of any churches, chapels, and such-like.
" And likewise the said commissioners shall send to
" the bishops of every diocese wherein the said
" county is situate, or to their chancellors, commis-
" saries, or other ecclesiastical officers, in whose
" hands or custody the like of the aforesaid inven-
" tories and registers have command of them, and
" every of them, they shall receive and take the
" said books, registers, and inventories. And that
" done, the said commissioners shall compare both
" the same inventories; that is to say, as well such
" as they shall receive and take of the *custos rotu-*
" *lorum*, or their deputy, or the clerk of the peace,
" as of the bishops or other under-officers, and
" according to the best, richest, and greatest inven-
" tories of the said commissioners shall proceed to
" make their survey and inquiry; and by the same

A.D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.

" make the searches of the defaults and wants that " shall be found. And generally the same com- " missioners shall, not only by the view of the said " registers and inventories, but also by any other " means they can better devise, proceed to the due " search and inquisition of the wants and defaults " of any part of the said goods, plate, jewels, vest- " ments, bells, or ornaments.

" *Item*, For the more speedy obtaining of the said " registers and inventories, the said commissioners " shall receive special letters of commandment from " our privy council for the delivery thereof, which " letters the said commissioners shall deliver as they " shall see occasion.

" *Item*, The said commissioners shall, upon their " view and survey taken, cause due inventories to " be made, by bills or books indented, of all manner " of goods, plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments as yet " remaining, or anywise forthcoming and belonging " to any churches, chapels, fraternities, or gilds; " and the one part of the same inventories to send " and return to our privy council, and the other to " deliver to them in whose hands the said goods, " plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments shall remain to " be kept preserved. And they shall also give good " charge and order that the same goods and every " part thereof be at all times forthcoming to be " answered, leaving nevertheless in every parish " church or chapel of common resort one, two, or " more chalices or cups, according to the multitude " of the people in every such church or chapel, and " also such other ornaments as by their discretion " shall seem requisite for the divine service in every " such place for the time.

"And because we be informed that in many A.D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI
"places great quantities of the said plate, jewels,
"bells, and ornaments be embezzled by certain
"private men, contrary to our express command-
"ments in that behalf; the said commissioners shall
"substantially and justly inquire and attain the
"knowledge thereof, by whose default the same is
"and hath been, and in whose hands any part of
"the same is come. And in that point the said
"commissioners shall have good regard that they
"attain to certain names and dwelling-places of
"every person and persons that hath sold, alienated,
"embezzled, taken or carried away, and of such
"also as have counselled, advised, and commanded
"any part of the said goods, plate, jewels, bells,
"vestments, and ornaments to be taken or carried
"away, or otherwise embezzled. And these things
"they shall, as certainly and duly as they can, cause
"to be searched and understand.

"Upon a full search and inquiry whereof, the
"said commissioners, four or three of them, shall
"cause to be called before them, also the persons by
"whom any of the said goods, plate, jewels, bells,
"ornaments, or any other the premises, have been
"alienated, embezzled, or taken away; or by whose
"means or procurement the same or any part
"thereof hath been attempted; or to whose hands
"or use any of the same or any profit of the same
"hath grown; and by such means as to their dis-
"cretions shall seem best, cause them to bring into
"their the said commissioners' hands, to our use,
"the said plate, jewels, bells, and other the premises
"so alienated, or the true and just value thereof,
"certifying unto our privy council the names of all

A. D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.

"such as refuse to stand to or obey their order "touching the redelivery and restitution of the "same, or the just value thereof: to the intent that "as cause and reason shall require every man may "answer to his doings in this behalf.

"Finally, our pleasure is that the said commis- "sioners in all their doings shall use such sober "and discreet manner of proceeding, as the effect "of this commission may go forward with as much "quiet and as little occasion of trouble or disquiet "of the multitude as may be, using to that end such "wise persuasions in all places of their sessions as "in respect of the place and disposition of the "people may seem to their wisdoms most expe- "dient; giving also good and substantial order for "the stay of the inordinate and greedy covetous- "ness of such disordered people as have or shall go "about the alienating of any the premises; so as, "according to reason and order, such as have or "shall contemptuously offend in this behalf may "receive reformation, as for the quality of their "doings shall be requisite."

In pursuance of these their instructions, the king's commissioners in their respective counties recovered much, and discovered more, of church wealth and ornaments; for some were utterly embezzled by persons not responsible, and there the king must lose his right; more were concealed by parties not detectable, so cunningly they carried their stealths, seeing every one who had nimmed a church-bell did not ring it out for all to hear the sound thereof. Many potent persons, well known to have such goods, shuffled it out with their greatness,

mutually conniyed at therein by their equals, fellow-offenders in the same kind. However, the commissioners regained more than they expected, considering the distance of time and the cold scent they followed so many years after the dissolution. This plate and other church utensils were sold, and advanced much money to the exchequer. An author[g] telleth us, that, amongst many which they found, they left but one silver chalice to every church; too narrow a proportion to populous parishes, where they might have left two at the least, seeing, for expedition-sake at great sacraments, the minister at once delivereth the wine to two communicants. But they conceived one cup enough for a small parish, and that greater and richer were easily able to purchase more to themselves. A D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.

2. All this income rather stayed the stomach than satisfied the hunger of the king's exchequer; for the allaying whereof, the parliament, now sitting, conferred on the crown the bishopric of Durham. This may be called the English Herbipolis or Wurtzburg, it being true of both, Durham bishopric dissolved.

Dunelmia sola, judicat ense et stola.

The bishop whereof was a palatine or secular prince, and his seal in form resembleth royalty in the roundness thereof, and is not oval, the badge of plain episcopacy. Rich and entire the revenues of this see, such as alone would make a considerable addition to the crown; remote the situation thereof, out of southern sight, and therefore, if dissolved, the sooner out of men's minds. Besides, Cuthbert Tun-

[g] Sir John Hayward, [Life of Edward VI. 373.]

A. D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI. stall, the present bishop of Durham, was in durance[h], and deprived for his obstinacy[i]; so that so stubborn a bishop gave the state the fairer quarrel with so rich a bishopric[k], now annexed to the king's revenue[l].

[h] [He was taken from his house "by Colharbard, in "Thames Street," 20th Dec. 1551, and sent to the Tower. Stow, 607.]

[i] [Oct. 11, 1552. King Edward's Journal, 95.]

[k] Yet the duke of Northumberland either was or was to be possessor thereof. [See Burnet, II. 401.]

[l] [Burnet says that the account of the suppression of this bishopric has been much misrepresented, and quotes the preamble of the act for its dissolution, which would make it appear that it was the intention of the council that as the compass of that bishopric was so large, "extending to so many "shires so far distant, that "it could not be sufficiently "served by one bishop, to have "two bishoprics for that dio-"cese, the one at Duresme, "which should have 2000 "marks revenue, and another "at Newcastle, which should "have 1000 marks revenue; "and also to found a cathedral "church at Newcastle, with a "deanery and chapter, out of "the revenues of the bishop-"ric." II. 443. As however, in the May following, the temporalities were turned into a county palatine, and bestowed upon the duke of Northumberland, we may well doubt whether the act above recited was ever seriously intended to be carried into effect. Every thing almost which tended to the external prosperity of the church was rendered ineffectual by overruling statesmen and the mixing up of laymen in ecclesiastical commissions. The chantry lands were given away, prebends were bestowed on noblemen who never entered into orders, (Burnet, II. 442. Strype's Mem. II (283,) 280,) six of the best were promised in the early part of this reign to the duke of Somerset, (Burnet, II. 14,) the see of Gloucester was annihilated and converted into an exempted archdeaconry, (ib. II. 418;) whilst Ponet from Winchester, (Strype's Mem. II. 526,) and Hooper from Worcester, received only a certain annuity out of the regular incomes of their sees. To Aldrich, bishop of Carlisle, the king gave license, in 1550, to sell to lord Clinton his lordship of Horncastle, Overcompton, Nethercompton, Ashby, Marning, Wilsby, Haltam, Conesby, Boughton, Thimelby, Morley, Moram, and Endesby, at one time; and shortly after granted to the same lord a lease for 200*l.* a year upon the bishop of Hereford's house in London. Strype's Mem. II. 232. From

3. Well it was for this see, though dissolved, that the lands thereof were not dispersed by sale unto several persons, but preserved whole and entire, as to the main, in the crown. Had such a dissipation of the parts thereof been made, no less than a state miracle had been requisite for the recollection thereof. Whereas now, within two years after, queen Mary restored Tunstall to this bishopric, and this bishopric to itself, resettling all the lands on the same.

A. D. 1552. 6 Ed VI.

Afterwards restored by queen Mary.

4. By this time, such learned men as were employed by the king to reform the ecclesiastical laws had brought their work to some competent perfection. Let me enlarge myself on this subject of concernment, for the reader's satisfaction. When the pope had engrossed to his courts the cognizance of all causes which either looked, glanced, or pointed

A wood, rather a wilderness, of the pope's canons.

the same writer we learn that thirty-four rich manors were alienated from the see of Lincoln, whilst Holbeach was its bishop, "a true favourer of the "gospel," (says Strype, ib. 463;) and that Veysey, the bishop of Exeter, the revenues of whose see was valued in the king's book at 1565*l.* 13*s.* 6¾*d.*, so impaired his bishopric by dishonest practices, as that it was valued only at 500*l.* in the time of his successor. Strype's Mem. II. 277. See also pp. 361, 217, 272.

No wonder that the pastoral function found but little encouragement in such a state of things, and that the clergy were compelled to betake themselves to mean employments, in order to obtain a bare subsistence; "so that at "that time," as Burnet states, "many clergymen were car- "penters and tailors, and some "kept alehouses." Ref. II. 417. Had this reign extended to many more years, with the same fatal success against the church, when prebendal stalls were turned into stables for the king's use, (see Strype's Grindal, 5, and Mem. II. 63,) and church lands and plates were the usual rewards of griping courtiers, the church, which has not to this day recovered from the ill effects of the wounds it then received, must in all human probability have sunk under such repeated evils.]

A.D. 1552 6 Ed. VI.

in the least degree at what was reducible to religion, he multiplied laws to magnify himself; whose principal design therein was not to make others good, but himself great; not so much to direct and defend the good, to restrain and punish the bad, as to ensnare and entangle both: for such the number of their Clementines, Sextines, Intra- and Extravagants, provincials, synodals, glosses, sentences, chapters, summaries, rescripts, breviaries, long and short cases, &c., that none could carry themselves so cautiously but would be rendered obnoxious, and caught within the compass of offending. Though the best was, for money they might buy the pope's pardon, and thereby their own innocence.

Two and thirty regulators of the canon law.

5. Hereupon, when the pope's power was banished out of England, his canon law, with the numerous books and branches thereof, lost its authority in the king's dominions. Yet, because some gold must be presumed amongst so much dross, grain amongst so much chaff, it was thought fit that so much of the canon law should remain as was found conformable to the word of God and laws of the land; and therefore king Henry the Eighth was empowered by act of parliament to elect two and thirty able persons to reform the ecclesiastical laws, though in his reign very little to good purpose was performed therein.

Contracted to eight by king Edward the Sixth.

6. But the design was more effectually followed in the days of king Edward the Sixth, reducing the number of two and thirty to eight, thus mentioned in his letters-patents dated at Westminster the last year, November 11[m]:

[m] [Burnet, II. 404, III. 398.]

A.D. 1552.
6 Ed. VI.

Bishops.

Thomas Cranmer, of Canterbury.
Thomas Goodrich, of Ely.

Divines.

Peter Martyr. Richard Cox.

Civilians and Canonists.

Dr. William May.
Dr. Rowland Taylor, of Hadley.

Common Lawyers.

John Lucas, esq. Richard Goodrick, esq.

It was not only convenient, but necessary, that common lawyers should share in making these church constitutions, because the same were to be built not only sure in themselves, but also symmetrical to the municipal laws of the land. These eight had power, by the king's patents, to call in to their assistance what persons they pleased, and are said to have used the pens of sir John Cheke and Walter Haddon, doctor in law, to turn their laws into Latin [n].

[n] [A design for reforming the canon law was entertained as early as the year 1544, when Cranmer obtained an act empowering the king to name, for his life, sixteen spiritual and sixteen temporal persons, to examine all canons and constitutions, &c, and to draw up such ecclesiastical laws as they might deem fitting for the spiritual courts. In conformity with this, a letter was framed ready for the king's signature, but which, from some reason now unknown, was never signed. See Strype's Cran. 190-2, and 778. Again, in 1549, the same subject was apparently taken up; but nothing was done till 1551, when a commission was issued empowering eight bishops, eight divines, eight civil and eight common lawyers, (afterwards reduced to eight,) who performed the work, which was revised by the archbishop. The

A. D. 1552. 6 Ed. VI.

7. However, these had only a preparing, no concluding power; so that, when they had ended their work, two things were wanting to make these ecclesiastical canons (thus by them composed) have the validity of laws: first, an exact review of them by others, to amend the mistakes therein; as where they call the Common Prayer-Book then used in England *proprium et perfectum omnis divini cultus judicem et magistrum*[o], a title truly belonging only to the scripture; secondly, a royal ratification thereunto, which this king (prevented by death) nor any of his successors ever stamped upon it. Indeed, I find in an author[p], (whom I am half-ashamed to allege,) that "Doctor Haddon, *anno* 12 or 13 Elizabeth, delivered "in parliament a Latin book concerning church dis- "cipline, written in the days of king Edward the "Sixth, by Mr. Cranmer and sir John Cheke, &c.," which could be no other than this lately mentioned; "which book was committed by the house, to be "translated, unto the said Mr. Haddon, Mr. George "Bromley, Mr. Norton, &c." I conceive into English again; and never after can I recover any mention thereof, save that some thirteen years since it was printed in London[q].

Laws no laws not stamped with royal authority.

A silent convocation.

8. A parliament was called in the last of this king's reign, wherein no church matter was meddled with, save that therein a subsidy granted by

result of their labours was published by archbishop Parker, into whose hands the MS. came, in the year 1571, under the title of "Reformatio legum "Ecclesiasticarum," &c., which was again reprinted in 1640. See Strype's Cran 388 Mem. II. 303.]

[o] De Divinis Officiis, cap. 16, [p. 91, ed. 1640.]

[p] John Penri, at the end of his preface to his book, entitled "Reformation no Enemy "to her Majesty," [ed. 1590.]

[q] Anno 1640.

the clergy was confirmed; such monies being the legacy, of course, which all parliaments (fairly coming to a peaceable end) bequeath to their sovereign. As for the records of this convocation, they are but one degree above blanks, scarce affording the names of the clerks assembled therein. Indeed, they had no commission from the king to meddle with church business; and every convocation in itself is born deaf and dumb, so that it can neither hear complaints in religion, nor speak in the redress thereof, till first *Ephphatha, Be thou opened*, be pronounced unto it by commission from royal authority. A. D. 1553. 7 Ed. VI.

9. Now, the true reason why the king would not entrust the diffusive body of the convocation with a power to meddle with matters of religion, was a just jealousy which he had of the ill affection of the major part thereof, who under the fair rind of Protestant profession had the rotten core of Romish superstition. It was therefore conceived safer for the king to rely on the ability and fidelity of some select confidants, cordial to the cause of religion, than to adventure the same to be discussed and decided by a suspicious convocation. The true reason thereof.

10. However, this barren convocation is entitled the parent of those Articles of Religion (forty-two in number) which are printed with this preface, *Articuli de quibus in synodo Londinensi, Anno Domini* 1552, *inter episcopos, et alios eruditos viros convenerat*[r]. With these was bound a Catechism, younger in age, (as bearing date of the next year,) Forty two Articles of Religion, and the king's Catechism.

[r] [These are printed in Wilkins, IV. 73; in English by Burnet, II. ii. 297, and Collier, collated with the Articles of 1562, Coll II. App. 75; as also in Heylyn's Hist. of Ref app.]

A.D. 1553. 7 Ed. VI. but of the same extraction, relating to this convocation, as author thereof. Indeed it was first compiled (as appears by the king's patent prefixed) by a single divine, charactered pious and learned [s], but afterwards perused and allowed by the bishops and other learned men, (understand it, the convocation,) and by royal authority commended to all subjects, commanded to all schoolmasters to teach it their scholars.

Consented and not consented to by the convocation.

11. Yet very few in the convocation ever saw it, much less explicitly consented thereunto; but these had formerly, it seems, passed over their power (I should be thankful to him who would produce the original instrument thereof) to the select divines appointed by the king, in which sense they may be said to have done it themselves by their delegates, to whom they had deputed their authority: a case not so clear but that it occasioned a cavil at the next convocation, in the first of queen Mary [t], when the papists therein assembled renounced the legality of any such former transactions [u].

The death of king Edward the Sixth, who was not cut out of his mother's belly, as is commonly reported.

Precious king Edward the Sixth now changed his crown of gold for one of glory. We will something enlarge ourselves, to give posterity his true character, never meeting more virtues in so few years. For his birth, there goeth a constant tradition that, Cæsar-like, he was cut out of the belly of his

[s] "A pio quodam et erudito "viro conscripta," in the king's patent. [Probably Ponet or Nowell. It is printed in Wilkins, IV. 79.]

[t] See more thereof in the next year.

[u] [Neither these Articles nor the Catechism were ever approved by convocation, although Cranmer endeavoured to have them enforced. See Burnet, III Coll. p. 202, fol. ed. Heylyn's Ref. p. 120.]

mother, Jane Seymour[x]; though a great person of honour, deriving her intelligence mediately from such as were present at her labour, assured me of the contrary. Indeed, such as shall read the calm and serene style of that letter which I have seen written (though not by) for that queen, and signed with her own signet after her delivery, cannot conjecture thence that any such violence was offered unto her. But see the letter[y]: A. D. 1553. 7 Ed. VI.

By the Queen.

Queen Jane's letter, after her delivery, to the lords of the council.

" Right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you " well; and forasmuch as by the inestimable good- " nesse and grace of Almighty God, we be delivered " and brought in childe-bed of a prince, conceived " in most lawfull matrimony, between my lord the " kings majestie and us: doubting not but that for " the love and affection which ye bear unto us, and

[x] [This opinion that Edward the Sixth's birth was not effected by the Cæsarean operation, is rendered more probable when it is considered that queen Jane survived her delivery at least twelve days. See the note, p. 645, and Strype's Mem. II. 6. The editor of the State Papers (vol. I p. 573) observes that "in a despatch to the am- " bassadors of France, (which " will be hereafter published,) " her death is distinctly as- " cribed to her having been " suffered to take cold, and to " eat improper food." This accords with the account given by Leland, in his "Genethlia- " con Edvardi Principis Cam- " briæ," which was published in 1543:

" ——— *Cruciatus acerbus*
Distorsit vacuum letali tormine ventrem
Frigora crediderim temere contracta fusse
In causa; superat vis morbi," &c.

According to Strype, in his review of sir J. Hayward's Life of Edward VI, (Mem. II. 473,) this story of Edward's being brought into the world by surgical art, and by the sacrifice of his mother's life, was invented by Nicholas Saunders, the Jesuit, from whom it was borrowed by sir J Hayward, and adopted in his Life of Edward. See Kennet's History of England, II. p 273.]

[y] [Cotton MSS. Nero, C. x. p. 1. compared with the original.]

A.D. 1553. 7 Ed.VI. "to the commonwealth of this realm, the knowledge "thereof should be joyous and glad tidings unto "you, we have thought good to certifie you of the "same, to the intent ye might not onely render "unto God condigne thanks and praise for so great "a benefice, but also continually pray for the long "continuance and preservation of the same here in "this life, to the honour of God, joy and pleasure "of my lord the king and us, and the universall "weal, quiet, and tranquility of this whole realm.

"Given under our signet, at my lords manour of "Hampton Court, the XII. day of October[z]," [1537.]

And although this letter was soon after seconded with another of a sadder subject[a], here inserted, subscribed by all the king's physicians, yet neither doth that so much as insinuate any impression of

[z] [The date of this letter must be either the 17th, which is the first Wednesday after the 12th of Oct. 1537, or the 24th of Oct., which will be the Wednesday following. The latter date is adopted by Strype, (Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 5,) following a MS. in the Heralds' College; and by the editor of the State Papers, vol. i. p 572. Hall and the other chroniclers fix her death on the 14th, but this may easily be a misprint for 24; and it is not at all unusual for these chroniclers, when copying from some earlier historian, to transcribe even his misprints. In support of the opinion of Strype, there is printed in the State Papers (ib. p. 573) a letter from sir J. Russell to Cromwell, dated 24th of Oct., in which the writer says: "Sir, for the king "was determined as this day "to have removed to Asher; "and because the queen was "very sick this night and this "day, he tarried; but tomorrow, God willing, he intendeth to be there. If she "amend, he will go; and if "she amend not, he told me "this day he could not find in "his heart to tarry, for I ensure you she hath been in "great danger yesternight and "this day, but thanked be God "she is somewhat amended; "and if she scape this night, "the physicians be in good "hope that she is past all "danger."

[a] Ibid. p 2. See also State Papers, vol. I. p. 572]

violence on her person, as hastening her death, but seems rather to cast the cause thereof on some other distemper. A.D. 1553. 7 Ed. VI.

A sadder letter of her physicians unto them.

" These shall be to advertise your lordship of the " queens estate. Yesterday afternoon she had a " natural lax, by reason whereof she began some- " what to lighten, and, as it appeared, to amend, " and so continued till toward night. All this night " she hath been very sick, and doth rather appare " than amend. Her confessour hath been with her " grace this morning, and hath done that to his " office appertaineth, and even now is preparing to " minister to her grace the sacrament of unction.

" At Hampton Court this Wednesday morning, at " viii. of the clock.

" Your lordships at commandement,

" THOMAS RUTLAND.
" ROBERT CARLIOLEN.
" EDWARD BAYNTUN.
" JOHN CHAMBRE, priest.
" WILLIAM BUTT.
" GEORGE OWEN[b]."

Impute we here this extreme unction administered to her, partly to the over-officiousness of some superstitious priest, partly to the good lady's inability, perchance insensible what was done unto her in such extremity; otherwise we are confident that her judgment, when in strength and health, dis-

[b] [From the Cotton MSS. Nero, C. x. p. 2. The signatures to this letter were printed very incorrectly in the former edition, which led Fuller into the error of supposing that all the names were those of the king's physicians.]

A D 1553 7 Ed. VI. liked such practices, being a zealous Protestant [c]: which unction did her as little good as the twelve masses said for her soul in the city of London at the commandment of the duke of Norfolk, whether he did it to credit their religion with the countenance of so great a convert, or did it out of the nimiety of his own love and loyalty to the queen, expressing it according to his own judgment, without the consent, if not against the will, of the queen's nearest kindred.

Prince Edward's towardliness in learning

12. But, leaving the mother, let us come to the son, who, as he saith of himself in the manuscript of his life, was for the first six years bred and brought up amongst the women, and then consigned to masculine tuition under doctor Richard Cox and sir John Cheke, who taught him Latin, and John Belmain, who instructed him in the French tongue [d]. How great and sudden his proficiency in learning was, will appear by this letter, written with his own hand to his father, when about eight years old. And although some may cavil this letter not to be the prince's, but Cheke's or Cox's in the prince, yet the very matter and style will attest it the genuine issue of his infant genius.

His letter to his king-father.

" Literæ meæ semper habent unum argumentum,
" rex nobilissime, atque pater illustrissime, id est,
" in omnibus epistolis ago tibi gratias pro beneficen-
" tia tua erga me maxima. Si enim sæpius multo

[c] [Probably unction was administered in this instance by order of Henry. In the celebration of her funeral many ceremonies of the Romish church were used, as may be seen in the account given of it by Strype, Mem. II. 6, 7. See also State Papers, p 574.]

[d] [Burnet, II. ii. 5]

" ad te literas exararem, nullo tamen quidem modo A. D. 1553.
" potui pervenire officio literarum ad magnitudinem 7 Ed. VI.
" benignitatis tuæ erga me. Quis enim potuit com-
" pensare beneficia tua erga me? Nimirum nullus
" qui non est tam magnus rex ac nobilis princeps,
" ac tu es, cujusmodi ego non sum. Quamobrem
" pietas tua in me, multo gratior est mihi, quod
" facis mihi, quæ nullo modo compensare possim,
" sed tamen adnitar, et faciam quod in me est, ut
" placeam majestati tuæ, atque precabor Deum, ut
" diu te servet incolumem. Vale rex nobilissime
" atque pater illustrissime.

" Majestati tuæ obsequentissimus filius,
" EDOUARDUS princeps [e].

" Hatfeldiæ, vicesimo septimo Septembris."

Another to queen Katharine Parr.

With the increase of his age his writing was improved, both in the letter, matter, and phrase thereof, as appeareth by what he wrote in Latin some months after, to his mother-in-law, queen Katherine Parr, in thankfulness for the new year's gift (the king's and her own picture) she had sent unto him. One may charitably believe that so learned a lady understood the letter without an interpreter; but sure it is she communicated the same to the king, who joyfully accepted thereof [f].

" Quod non ad te jam diu scripserim, regina
" illustrissima, atque mater charissima, in causa
" fuit, non negligentia, sed studium.
" Non enim hoc feci, ut nunquam omnino scribe-
" rem, sed ut accuratius scriberem. Quare spero

[e] Cotton Lib. [ibid. p. 3.]
[f] Cotton Lib. [ib. p. 5.]

A. D. 1553. 7 Ed. VI

" te futuram contentam et gavisuram, quod non " scripserim. Tu enim velles me proficere in omni " honestate et pietate, quod est signum insignis et " diuturni tui amoris erga me. Atque hunc amorem " multis beneficiis mihi declarasti, et præcipue hac " strena, quam proxime ad me misisti, in qua regiæ " majestatis, et tua effigies ad vivum expressa con- " tinetur. Nam plurimum me delectat vestras ima- " gines absentium contemplari, quos lubentissime " videre cupio præsentes, ac quibus maxime tum " natura, tum officio devinctus sum. Quamobrem " majores tibi gratias ago, ob hanc strenam quam si " misisses ad me preciosas vestes, et aurum cælatum, " aut quidvis aliud eximium. Deus tuam celsitu- " dinem, quam me brevi visurum spero, servet inco- " lumem.

" Filius celsitudini tuæ obsequentissimus,
" EDOUARDUS princeps.

" Hartfordiæ, decimo Januarii."

A letter to the earl of Hartford.

Now our hand is in, but one letter more, (but in date some months before the last,) to his uncle, earl of Hartford [g], and we have done; for if papists superstitiously preserve the fingers, teeth, yea, locks of hair of their pretended saints, wonder not if I prize the smallest relics of this gracious prince, never as yet presented to public view.

" Natura movet me ut recorder tui avuncule " charissime, etsi negotia tua impediunt te ne videas " me, ideo do literas ad te, quæ literæ ferent tes- " timonium recordationis meæ, quam habeo de te.

[g] [Edward Seymour.]

"Quod si haberem ullum melius monumentum "benevolentiæ meæ erga te, quam literæ sunt, illud "ad te mitterem. Puto autem te accepturum literas "meas bene, non pro bonitate literarum, sed pro "benevolentia scriptoris. Et tu non eris adeo lætus "in accipiendis literis a me, ut ego gaudebo, si "intellexero te in bonam partem accepisse illas, "quod puto te facturum. Optime valeas in Christo "Jesu [h].

A.D. 1553. 7 Ed. VI.

"E. Princeps.

"Hunsdoniæ, octavo Novembris."

Such was the piety of this young prince, that being about to take down something which was above his reach, one of his playfellows proffered him a bossed-plated Bible to stand upon, and heighten him to take what he desired. Perceiving it a Bible, with holy indignation he refused it, and sharply reproved the offerer thereof; it being unfit he should trample that under his feet which he was to treasure up in his head and heart. How many nowadays, unable in themselves to achieve their own wicked ends, make God's word their pedestal, that standing thereon they may be not the holier, but the higher, and the better advantaged, by abusing a piety, to attain their own designs.

An instance of his piety.

13. When crowned king, his goodness increased with his greatness; constant in his private devotions, and as successful as fervent therein, witness this particular: sir John Cheke, his schoolmaster, fell desperately sick; of whose condition the king carefully inquired every day. At last his physicians told

And an extraordinary one of the prevalency of his prayer.

[h] [Cotton Lib. ib. p. 7.]

A. D. 1553. 7 Ed. VI. him that there was no hope of his life, being given over by them for a dead man. "No," saith king Edward, "he will not die at this time; for this "morning I begged his life from God in my prayers, "and obtained it." Which accordingly came to pass, and he soon after, against all expectation, wonderfully recovered. This was attested by the old earl of Huntingdon [i], bred up in his childhood with king Edward, unto sir Thomas Cheke, still surviving, about eighty years of age.

His exact diary.

14. He kept an exact account [k], written with his own hand, (and that a very legible one,) of all memorable accidents, with the accurate date thereof. No high honour was conferred, bishopric bestowed, state office disposed of, no old fort repaired, no new one erected, no bullion brought in, no great sums sent forth of the land, no ambassadors dispatched hence, none entertained here; in a word, no matter of moment transacted, but by him, with his own hand, it was recorded: whose notes herein, though very particular, are nothing trivial; though short, not obscure, as formerly we have made use of some of those which concern our history.

His good archery and quick wit.

15. Whilst in health, his body was no less active in exercise than his mind quick in apprehension. To give one instance of both together: one day, being shooting at butts, (a manful and healthful pastime, wherein he very much delighted,) he hit the very mark. The duke of Northumberland [l] being present, and, as I take it, betting on his side, "Well "shot, my liege," quoth he. "But you shot nearer

[i] [Francis Hastings] Hist. of Ref. II ii. p. 1, sq.]
[k] [Printed entire by Burnet,
[l] [John Dudley.]

"the mark," returned the king, "when you shot off "my good uncle Somerset's head." And it is generally conceived that grief for his death caused king Edward's consumption, who succeeded not to any consumptive inclination, as hereditary from his extraction, from a father but little past, and a mother just in the strength of, their age. A. D. 1553. 7 Ed. VI.

16. However, I find in a popish writer [m], that it was said "that the apothecary who poisoned him, "for the horror of the offence and disquietness of "his conscience, drowned himself; and that the "laundress which washed his shirt lost the skin of "her fingers." But if his history be no better than his divinity, we that justly condemn the one can do no less than suspect the other. An uncertain report.

17. We will conclude this king's most pious life with that his most devout prayer on his death-bed, which God heard and graciously answered, for the good of the church of England [n]. The prayer of king Edward on his death-bed

"Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable "and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen. "Howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, "I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou "knowest how happy it were for me to be with "thee; yet for thy chosen's sake send me life and "health, that I may truly serve thee. Oh my Lord "God, blesse thy people, and save thine inherit-

[m] [Jerusalem and Babel, or the] Image of both Churches, p 423. [Written by P. D M, that is, Matthew Pattison, a Romanist. Upon this and other reports, see Strype's Mem. II. 429.]

[n] Fox, Acts and Monuments, &c, [II. 787. A Latin version of this prayer was published as early as the year 1554, by Val. Pollanus, in his "Vera expo- "sitio disputationis institutæ in "Synodo Ecclesiastica, Lon- "dini, 18th Oct, 1553," ed. 1554. 12mo.]

A. D. 1553. 7 Ed. VI.

"ance. Oh Lord God, save thy chosen people of "England. Oh my Lord God, defend this realm "from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that "I and my people may praise thy holy name, for "thy son Jesus Christ's sake [o]."

Opposers of the Liturgy grow strong.

17. One of the last sermons king Edward heard, was preached before him by Hugh Latimer, at what time their party began to spread and increase, who opposed the Liturgy; witness this passage in his sermon [p]: "I have heard say, when the good queen "that is gone had ordained in her house daily "prayer, both before noon and after noon, the ad- "miral getteth him out of the way, like a mole "digging in the earth. He shall be Lot's wife to "me as long as I live. He was, I heard say, a "covetous man, a covetous man indeed: I would "there were no more in England. He was, I heard "say, an ambitious man: I would there were no "more in England. He was, I heard say, a seditious "man, a contemner of common prayer: I would "there were no more in England. Well! he is

[o] [Fox subjoins, (ibid.) "As the time approached when "it pleased Almighty God to "call this young king from us, "which was the sixth day of "July, the year above said, "about three hours before his "death, this godly child, his "eyes being closed, speaking "to himself, and thinking none "to have heard him, made "this prayer which followeth, "'Lord God, deliver me,' &c. "Then turned he his face, and "seeing who was by him, said "unto them, 'Are ye so nigh? "I thought ye had been fur- "ther off.' Then D. Owen "said, 'We heard you speak "to yourself, but what you "said we know not.' He then, "after his fashion smilingly, "said, 'I was praying to God' "The last words of his pangs "were these: 'I am faint; "Lord have mercy upon me, "and take my spirit!'"]

[p] Latimer's Sermons, printed anno 1607, p 83. [The passage occurs in the seventh sermon preached before king Edward VI., p. 217, ed. 1758.]

"gone: I would he had left none like him behind." A.D. 1553 7 Ed VI
A passage so informative to the church history of that age must not pass without some observations thereon:

The good queen is gone:] This was queen Katharine Parr, the relict of king Henry the Eighth, who some two years since died in child-bed [q].

The admiral:] This was Thomas lord Seymour, her husband.

Getteth himself out of the way:] Here is the question, on what terms he absented himself, whether on

Popish,	or	*Nonconformist.*
In proof whereof he is compared to Lot's wife, which importeth a looking back and reflection on former practice.		Being termed herein seditious, and not superstitious. It intimates that a factious principle made him distaste the Common Prayer.

A contemner of the Common Prayer, I wish there were no more:] This probably relates unto a potent party disaffected to the Liturgy, which now began to be very considerable in England, but, if the premises be rightly collected, much to blame in the judgment of godly master Latimer [r].

18. The dislikers of the Liturgy bare themselves high upon the judgment of master Calvin, in his

[q] [She died in September, 1548, (Stow, 596,) before she had been married twelve months, not without suspicion of ill-usage from her husband, if the evidence of lady Tyrwhitt (who was a political tool of Northumberland and his party) may be relied on. See Hayne's State Papers, 103. Burnet, II. 199.]

[r] [And much blamed by Bucer and Peter Martyr See the extracts from their letters in Burnet, II 319. Though no inference as to the admiral's religious opinions can be drawn from this, since both Romanists and nonconformists opposed the form of Common Prayer then in use]

A. D. 1553. 7 Ed. VI. letter (four years since) to the duke of Somerset, lord protector; now no longer a privacy, because publicly printed in his Epistles.

Mr. Calvin's three reasons for a set form of prayer.

And yet master Calvin is therein very positive for a set form, whose words deserve our translation and observation [s]:

"Quod ad formulam precum, et rituum ecclesiasticorum valde probo, ut certa illa extet, a qua pastoribus discedere in functione sua non liceat, tam	"I do highly approve that there should be a certain form of prayer and ecclesiastical rites, from which it should not be lawful for the pastors themselves to discede.
"1. ut consulatur quorundam simplicitati et imperitiæ, quam	"1. That provision may be made for some people's ignorance and unskilfulness.
"2. ut certius ita constet omnium inter se ecclesiarum consensus. Postremo etiam	"2. That the consent of all churches amongst themselves may the more plainly appear.
"3. ut obviam eatur desultoriæ quorundam levitati, qui novationes quasdam affectant,—	"3. That order may be taken against the desultory levity of such who delight in innovations.
"Sic igitur, statum esse catechismum oportet, statam sacramentorum admiministrationem, publicam item precum formulam [t]"	"Thus there ought to be an established catechism, an established administration of sacraments, as also a public form of prayer."

[s] [In his letter to the protector, dated from Geneva, 22nd Oct. 1546. The passage is a connected quotation, though arranged in separate sentences by our author.]

[t] Epist. p. 69

So that it seems not a form, but this form of prayer did displease; and exceptions were taken at certain passages still in the Liturgy, though lately reviewed by the bishops, and corrected [u]. A.D. 1553 7 Ed. VI

19. Whilst mutual animosities were heightened betwixt the opposers and assertors of the Liturgy, Providence put a period, for a time, to that controversy in England. Such who formerly would not, soon after durst not, use the Common Prayer; mass and popery being set up by queen Mary in the room thereof. Thus when children fall out and fight about the candle, the parents, coming in and taking it away, leave them to decide the differences in the dark. Wanton frowardness justly punished

[u] [Burnet, II. 319.]

THE

CHURCH HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN.

THE EIGHTH BOOK,

CONTAINING THE PERSECUTIONS UNDER THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

LONDON: PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1655.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

FRANCIS GREVILLE.

BARON BROOKE, OF BEAUCHAMPS COURT[a].

My Lord,

THERE is a generation of people in our age called Quakers, which they disclaim as a nickname, though I see not how handsomely they can waive the name whilst they wear the thing, having contracted

[a] [This nobleman was the son and heir of Robert Greville, second baron Brooke, notorious for his hostility to the church and the throne, who met with the death which he deserved at the siege of Lichfield, in 1643; having prayed just before the battle "that if "the cause he followed were "not right and just, he might "be presently cut off; and that "he hoped to see the day "when one stone of St. Paul's "church at London should not "be left upon another." Laud's Troubles, 201. Sanderson's Charles, I. p. 613. Clarendon's Rebellion, III. 455. He was the most violent persecutor of the clergy, the bitterest enemy of his sovereign, of any man in his day; but whether the son followed the father's evil steps, I cannot find. Nothing is known of him, except that he lived and died unmarried. A lord Brooke is mentioned as being one of the commissioners sent in 1660 by the lords to invite king Charles II. to come over to England and exercise his kingly office; who was either the same as the nobleman here mentioned, or his brother who succeeded to the title.]

a habit of quaking, wherein they delight [b]. Of their practices, no less ridiculous than erroneous, two most remarkable:

First, the casting off of their clothes, which, did it not more wound the modesty of others than their own, I could wish that their going naked might be their punishment for their going naked; that what sometimes they affect of fancy should always be enjoined them by authority, till the cold converted them into more civility.

In vain do they plead for their practice the precedent of the prophet Isaiah going naked for three years [c]; whose act was extraordinary and mystical, having an immediate command from God for the same. As well may they, in imitation of Hosea [d], take a known harlot to their wives; which I believe they would not willingly do, though they have made harlots of other men's wives, if all be true reported of them.

[b] [According ding to Pagitt, a writer well acquainted with the history of the various sects which sprung up in these times, quaking was part of the doctrine of James Naylor, the chief founder of this sect, who had served as a common soldier for several years, under general Lambert. "In his Glory of "the North," says this writer, "he cites all the places of the "scripture which mention ei- "ther trembling or shaking, "never so impertinent and far "from the purpose; as Ps. "xcix. [1], *The Lord reigneth,* "*let the earth tremble;* cxiv. "[7], *Tremble thou, earth, at* "*the presence of the God of Ja-* "*cob;* Heb. xii [26], *I shake* "*not the earth only, but the hea-* "*vens also;* Gen. [xxvii. 33], "*When Isaac blessed his sons,* "*he trembled;* &c 'The holy "men of God,' saith he, 'wit- "ness quaking and trembling.' "Bateman, a quaker and an "apologist for the sect, repeats "many of these places." Heresiography, p. 246, ed. 1661.]

[c] Isaiah xx. 3.

[d] Hosea i. 2.

Their other opinion is, that *thou* and *thee* is the omer of respect to be measured out to every single person; allowing the highest no more, the lowest no less, be he (to speak in their own phrase [e]) either king, lord, judge, or officer.

We will take their words asunder, (as the wheels of a watch,) only scour them, and then put them together again:

King] Though none at this present in the land, yet because these pretend to a prophetical spirit, and there may be one in due time, their words are considerable.

Lord] Here your honour, with those many persons your peers, are concerned.

Judge] In this place the shoe pinches them, because they bear the sword to punish offenders [f].

Officers] I suppose either civil or military, if they allow of the distinction.

No mention here of ministers: it seems *thou* and *thee* is too good language for us, who are Cains, and Balaams, and dogs, and devils in their mouths. The best is, the sharpest railing cannot pierce where guiltiness in the person railed on hath not first wimbled a hole for the entrance thereof.

Their principal argument for their practice is drawn from many places in scripture [g], where *thou*

[e] Pamphlet called the Language of Truth, p. 2.
[f] Rom xiii. 4.

and *thee* are used by God to man, and man to God, and man to God, which cannot be denied.

In opposition whereunto, we maintain that *thou* from superiors to inferiors is proper, as a sign of command; from equals to equals is passable, as a note of familiarity; but from inferiors to superiors, if proceeding from ignorance, hath a smack of clownishness; if from affectation, a tang of contempt.

But in answer to their objection from scripture, we return four things:

First, *thou* is not so distasteful a term in Hebrew and Greek as it is in the English; custom of every country being the grand master of language, to appoint what is honourable and disgraceful therein. The Jews had their *Raca*[h], or term of contempt, unknown to us; we our *thou*, a sign of slighting, unused by them.

Secondly, it followeth not, because *thou* and *thee* only are set down, that therefore no other additions of honour were then and there given from inferiors to their superiors. A negative argument cannot be framed in this case, that more respect was not used, because no more expressed in scripture; it being the design of histories chiefly to represent the substance of deeds, not all verbal formalities.

Thirdly, what inferiors in scripture wanted in words they supplied in postures and gestures of

[h] Matt. v. 22.

submission, even to prostration of their bodies [i], which would be condemned for idolatry if used in England.

Lastly, there are extant in scripture expressions of respect, as when Sarah termed her husband *lord*, which, though but once mentioned in the text, was no doubt her constant practice; or else the Holy Spirit would not have took such notice thereof, and commended it to others' imitation [k].

But they follow their argument, urging it unreasonable that any should refuse that coin in common discourse which they in their solemn devotions pay to God himself. *Thou* and *Thee* are current in the prayers of saints clean through the scripture, as also in our (late admired) Liturgy: we praise *Thee*, we bless *Thee*, we worship *Thee*, we glorify *Thee*, we give *Thee* thanks for *Thy* great glory [l].

It is answered, those attributes of greatness, goodness, &c. given to God in the beginning of every prayer, do virtually and effectually extend and apply themselves to every clause therein, though for brevity's sake not actually repeated.

Thus *Our Father*, in the preface of the Lord's Prayer, relateth to every petition therein: *Our Father*, hallowed be thy Name; *Our Father*, thy Kingdom come; *Our Father*, thy will be done, &c. And this qualifieth the harshness and rudeness of

[i] Gen xxxiii. 3; 1 Kings i. 16, 23; as also 1 Kings xviii. 7.

[k] 1 Pet. iii. 6.

[l] Said or sung after the Communion.

thou, *thee*, and *thy*, when for expedition and expressiveness' sake they are necessarily used.

Your honour will not wonder at the practice of these Quakers, having read in the prophetical epistles of St. Peter [m] and St. Jude [n], (last placed because last to be performed,) that towards the end of the world some shall not be afraid to *speak evil of dignities*. These fear where no fear is, and quake where they need not; but fear not where fear is, being bold and impudent where they ought not. They are not afraid, not only to speak against dignities, (which in some case may be done, where they are vicious men,) but against dignities, the lawful, useful, needful ordinances of God himself.

God grant these may seasonably be suppressed, before they grow too numerous; otherwise such who now quarrel at the honour will hereafter question the wealth of others. Such as now accuse them for ambition for being higher, will hereafter condemn them for covetousness, for being broader than others; yea, and produce scripture too, proper and pregnant enough for their purpose, as abused by their interpretation. In a word, it is suspicious such as now introduce *thou* and *thee* will, if they can, expel *mine* and *thine*, dissolving all propriety into confusion.

And now, my lord, how silly a thing is that honour which lies at the mercy of such men's

[m] 2 Pet. ii 10. [n] Jude 8.

mouths, to tender or deny the same. The best is, men's statures are not extended or contracted with their shadows, so as to be stretched out into giants in the morning, shrunk up into dwarfs at noon, and stretched out at night into giants again. Intrinsical worth doth not increase and abate, wax and wane, ebb and flow, according to the fancy of others. May your lordship therefore labour for that true honour which consisteth in virtue, and God's approbation thereof; which will last and remain, how furiously soever the wicked rage, and imagine vain things against it.

Here I presume to present your honour the lives and deaths of some worthies, contrary to those Quakers in their practice and opinion: I mean the martyrs in the reign of queen Mary. These despised not their superiors, giving due reverence to those who condemned them, honouring lawful authority, though unlawfully used; these cast not off their clothes, but modestly wore their linen on them at their suffering; these counterfeited no corporal quaking, (standing as firm as the stake they were fastened to,) though in a spiritual sense working out their salvation with fear and trembling: whose admirable piety and patience is here recommended unto your lordship's consideration, by

Your humble Servant,

To be commanded in all Christian offices,

THOMAS FULLER.

THE

CHURCH HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN.

BOOK VIII.

KING Edward, tender in years, and weak with sickness, was so practised on by the importunity of others, that, excluding his two sisters, he conveyed the crown to the lady Jane, his kinswoman, by that which we may well call the *testament* of king Edward, and the *will* of the duke of Northumberland [a]. Thus through the pious intents

A. D. 1553. 1 Mary.

Queen Mary, in despite of the duke of Northumberland's opposition, crowned.

[a] [King Edward's first draught for a design of altering the succession is printed by Burnet, vol. iii. Coll. numb. 10. In order to prevent the crown from descending to his sister Mary, he had at first excluded all females from the succession, directing that the crown should be kept in abeyance till issue male should be born of the lady Frances or her three daughters. But these clauses were afterwards altered, and the entire scheme remodelled, as Burnet thinks, by the judges. That paper, he observes, he had never seen; but he has printed (ib. numb. 11) a paper subscribed by twenty-four coun-

A.D. 1553. 1 Mary.

of this prince, wishing well to the Reformation; the religion of queen Mary, obnoxious to exception; the ambition of Northumberland, who would do what he listed; the simplicity of Suffolk, who would be done with as the other pleased; the dutifulness of the lady Jane, disposed by her parents; the fearfulness of the judges, not daring to oppose; and the flattery of the courtiers, most willing to comply,—matters were made as sure as man's policy can make that good which is bad in itself. But the commons of England, who for many years together had conned loyalty by heart out of the statute of succession, were so perfect in their lesson, that they would not be put out of it by this new-started design; so that every one proclaimed Mary next heir in their consciences, and few days after king Edward's death all the project miscarried: of the plotters whereof some executed, more imprisoned, most pardoned, all conquered, and queen Mary crowned. Thus, though

cillors and judges, in which they promise to observe, upon oath, that limitation of the succession to the crown, such as the king had devised, and to prosecute any of their number that would depart from it. Strype tells us that Cranmer endeavoured to dissuade the king from his purpose, and pleaded for the legitimacy of the lady Mary; and when some of the lawyers affirmed that the king, being in possession of the crown, had a right to dispose of it according to his pleasure, Cranmer still continued firm in his opposition, observing that whatever others might do, for himself he could not sign such a paper without perjury, having sworn to the observance of king Henry's will. In this opposition he continued until the king requested him to sign the paper, "which made a great impres-"sion on him," (says Burnet, quoting from Strype;) "but "such was the love that he "bore to the king, that in "conclusion he yielded and "signed it" Hist. of Ref. III. p. 215, fol. ed. It is as well to observe that the idea, or at least the draught of the design for thus altering the succession, was entirely the king's own.]

the stream of loyalty for awhile was violently diverted, to run in a wrong channel, yet with the speediest opportunity it recovered the right course again. A. D. 1553. 1 Mary.

2. But now, in what manner this will of king Edward's was advanced, (that the greatest blame may be laid on them who had the deepest guilt,) the following answer of sir Edward Montague, lord chief justice of the common pleas, (accused for drawing up the will, and committed by queen Mary to prison for the same,) will truly acquaint us; the original whereof, under his own hand, was communicated unto me by his great grandchild, Edward lord Montague of Boughton[b], and here faithfully exemplified: The truth of the carriage of sir Edward Montague in his drawing up the will of king Edward the Sixth.

" Sir Edward Montague, knight, late chief justice " of the common pleas, received a letter from Green- " wich, dated the eleventh day of June last past, " signed with the hands of the lord treasurer, the " duke of Northumberland, John earl of Bedford, " Francis earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Pembroke, " the lord Clinton, the lord Darcy, John Gate, Wil- " liam Petre, William Cecil, John Cheke: whereby " he was commanded to be at the court on the " morrow, by one of the clock at afternoon, and to " bring with him sir John Baker, justice Bromley, " the attorney and solicitor-general; and according " to the same all they were there at the said hour

[b] [To this nobleman and his sons Fuller dedicated various plates in his Pisgah Sight; see pp. 288, 308; and likewise his Holy War. Of the truth, therefore, of this narration, inserted in the text, our author was likely to be well informed, from his intimacy with the family of the Montagues, whose pedigree he has set down in his Appeal, Book III. §. 78.]

A.D. 1553. 1 Mary. " of one of the clock. And after they were brought " to the presence of the king, the lord treasurer, the " marquis of Northampton, sir John Gate, and one " or two more of the council, whose names he doth " not now remember, were present.

" And then and there the king by his own mouth " said, that now in his sickness he had considered " the state of this his realm and succession, which, if " he should decease without heir of his body, should " go to the lady Mary, who was unmarried, and " might marry a stranger born, whereby the laws of " this realm might be altered and changed, and his " highness' proceedings in religion might be altered. " Wherefore his pleasure was, that the state of the " crown should go in such form and to such persons " as his highness had appointed in a bill of articles " not signed with the king's hand, which were read, " and commanded them to make a book thereof " accordingly with speed. And they, finding divers " faults not only for the incertainty of the articles, " but also declaring unto the king that it was " directly against the act of succession, which was " an act of parliament which would not be taken " away by no such device, notwithstanding his high- " ness would not otherwise but that they should " draw a book according to the said articles, which " he then took them; and they required a reasonable " time of his highness for the doing thereof, and to " consider the laws and statutes made for the suc- " cession, which indeed were and be more dangerous " than any of them they did consider and remember; " and so they departed, commanding them to make " speed.

" And on the morrow all the said persons met,

" and perusing the said statutes, there grew this A.D. 1553.
" question amongst them, whether it were presently 1 Mary.
" treason by the words of the statute of *Anno Primo*
" *Edvardi Sexti*, or no treason till it were put in
" execution after the king's death? because the
" words of the statute are, 'the king, his heirs and
" successors:' because the king can have no succes-
" sors in his life; but to be sure they were all
" agreed that it were the best and surer way to say
" to the lords that the execution of this device after
" the king's decease was not only treason, but the
" making of this device was also presently treason,
" as well in the whole council as in them; and so
" agreed to make their report, without doing any-
" thing for the execution thereof.

" And after sir William Petre sent for the said
" sir Edward to Ely Place, who shewed him that
" the lords required great speed in the making of
" the said book; and he told him there were none
" like to be made for them, for the danger aforesaid.
" And after that the said sir Edward, with the rest
" of his company, went to the court, and before all
" the council (the duke of Northumberland being
" not in the council-chamber) made report to the
" lords that they had considered the king's articles,
" and also the statutes of succession, whereby it
" appeared manifestly that if they should make any
" book according to the king's commandment, they
" should not only be in danger of treason, but also
" their lordships all; wherefore they thought it their
" bounden duties to declare the danger of the laws
" unto them; and for avoiding of the danger thereof
" they had nothing done therein, nor intended to

A. D. 1553. 1 Mary. "do, the laws being so dangerous, and standing in "force.

"The duke of Northumberland, having intelli- "gence of their answer, either by the earl of Hunt- "ingdon or by the lord admiral, cometh into the "council-chamber before all the council there, being "in a great rage and fury, trembling for anger, "and amongst his rageous talk called the said sir "Edward traitor; and further said, that he would "fight in his shirt with any man in that quarrel, (as "all the whole council being there will report;) "whereby the said sir Edward, with the rest, were "in great fear and dread, in special Mr. Bromley "and the said sir Edward; for Mr. Bromley told "the said sir Edward after, that he dreaded then that "the duke would have striken one of them. And "after they were commanded to go home; and so "departed in great fear, without doing any thing "more at that time, wishing of God they had stood "to it, as they did then, unto this time.

"And after the said sir Edward received another "letter, dated at Greenwich the 14th of June last "past, signed with the hands of the lord treasurer, "the earl of Bedford, the marquis of Northampton, "the earl of Shrewsbury, the lord Clinton, the lord "Cobham, the lord Darcy, William Petre, John "Gate, John Cheke; whereby he was commanded "to bring with him sir John Baker, justice Bromley, "and Mr. Gosnold, and to be at the court on the "morrow by one of the clock at afternoon, where "all they were at the same hour, and conveyed into "a chamber behind the dining chamber there; and "all the lords looked upon them with earnest coun-

" tenance, as though they had not known them. So A D. 1553.
" that the said sir Edward, with the other, might 1 Mary.
" perceive there were some earnest determination
" against them; and at length they were brought
" before the king himself, there being present all
" the whole council.

" And the king demanded of them why they had
" not made his book, according to his command-
" ment, and refused that to do, with sharp words
" and angry countenance. And the said sir Edward
" opened unto his highness the cause why they did
" it not; and he and other had before declared and
" opened to the council that if the writings were
" made they were of no effect nor force, but utterly
" void when the king should decease, and the statute
" of succession not impaired nor hurted; for these
" will not be taken away but by the same authority
" they were made, and that was by parliament. To
" that said the king we mind to have a parliament
" shortly, not telling when, which was the first time
" that the said sir Edward heard of any parliament
" to be had. Whereunto he said, if his pleasure
" were so, all might be deferred to the parliament,
" and all dangers and perils saved. Whereunto the
" king said he would have this done, and after ratify
" it by parliament; and after commanded them
" very sharply upon their allegiance to make it.
" And there were divers of the lords that stood
" behind the said sir Edward, and said if they
" refused to do that they were traitors. And the
" said sir Edward was in great fear as ever he was
" in all his life before, seeing the king so earnest
" and sharp, and the said duke so angry the day
" before, who ruled the whole council as it pleased

A. D. 1553. 1 Mary.

" him, and were all afraid of him, (the more is the " pity,) so that such cowardness and fear was there " never seen amongst honourable men, as it hath " appeared.

" The said sir Edward, being an old weak man, " and without comfort, began to consider with him- " self what was best to be done for the safeguard of " his life, which was like to chance in that fury and " great anger presently; and remembering that the " making of the said writing was not presently trea- " son by the statute of *Anno Primo*, because this " word successor would take no place while the king " was living, and determined with himself not to " meddle nor execute any thing concerning the same " after the death of the king, which he hath truly " kept hereunto; and also remembering that the " queen's highness that now is should come by act " of succession, as a purchaser by the law, might not " lawfully punish treason or contempt committed in " the king's life, he said unto the king that he had " served his most noble father many years, and also " his highness during his time, and loth he would be " to disobey his commandment: for his own part, he " would obey it, so that his highness would grant " to them his commandment, licence, and commis- " sion under his great seal, for the doing, making, " and executing of all things concerning the same, " and when the things were done that they might " have a general pardon. All which commission " and pardon was as much as the said sir Edward " could invent to help this danger over, and besides " the things above remembered; which commission " and pardon the king granted them, saying it was " but reason that they should have them both, and

" the commission is passed the great seal, and the A.D. 1553.
" pardon was signed, and as far as he knew sealed. 1 Mary.

" All the said matters considered, the said sir " Edward said for his part he would obey the king's " commandment, and so did Mr. Bromley say the " same; and the king said to sir John Baker, 'What " say you? You said never a word to-day:' who, as " I take it, agreed to the same. Mr. Gosnold re- " quired a respite, for he was not yet persuaded to " do the thing required. How the said duke and " the earl of Shrewsbury handled him, he can tell " best himself. And after, upon the said sir Edward's " motion, the king gave him licence to be advised " until upon the morrow, who of himself being in " great fear was content to obey the king's com- " mandment; and so the doers and makers of the " said book, with sorrowful hearts and with weeping " eyes, in great fear and dread devised the said book " according to such articles as were signed with the " king's proper hand above and beneath, and on " every side. And their said commission, with arti- " cles so signed with the king's hand, and the book " drawn in paper, were conveyed from the court to " the lord chancellor's, to be engrossed in parchment, " and to pass the great seal, which was done ac- " cordingly.

" And on the morrow next after the last term " ended the said sir Edward and all the judges were " sent for: he puts his hand to the book in parch- " ment, sealed with the great seal, and so did many " others. The said book of articles so signed remain- " eth with the lord chancellor, bishop of Ely[c]; but

[c] [Thomas Goodrich.]

A.D. 1553. 1 Mary

"who conveyed the said paper book into the chancery, or who wrote them, or who set their hands to the same book, the said sir Edward, till he see them, he cannot tell; but he will not deny but he was privy to the making of them, as he hath before said, and that he came to the knowledge of the matter by the articles unsigned, and by the articles signed with the king's hand, and both delivered unto him by the king's own hands. Who put the king in mind to make the said articles, or who wrote them or any of them, or by whose procurement or counsel they were made, or by what means he and others were called unto this matter, he knoweth not, but he thinks in his conscience the king never invented this matter of himself, but by some wonderful false compass. He prayeth God the truth may be known, as he doubts not it will be.

"And further, he and all his company, as well before the king as before the lords at all times, said that their writings (before they were made and after they were made) were of no value, force, nor effect, to any intent, constitution, or purpose, after the king's death, and there is no remedy to help this but by parliament. And that after the said Thursday, being the morrow after the term last past, that he by any writing, printing, overt deed or act, never did any thing sithence the same day, in the king's life, ne sithence the death of the king, for he determined with himself to be no executor of the said device, whatsoever should chance of it; nor ever meddled with the council in any thing, nor came amongst them, until the queen's grace that now is was proclaimed queen in

" London, nor never executed commission, procla- A. D. 1553.
" mation, or other commandment from the lady Jane 1 Mary.
" nor her council, but commanded my son to serve
" the queen's grace that now is, and to go to sir
" Thomas Tresham and [the] Buckinghamshire men
" that went to her grace to defend her, which he so
" did to my no little cost."

The case thus stated, these notes follow, written with the same hand:

" Now that it is to be considered the great fear
" the said sir Edward was in, as well by the duke of
" Northumberland on the one day as by the king on
" the other day.

" Also it is to be considered the king's command-
" ment upon their allegiance, by his own mouth, and
" the articles signed with his highness' own hand,
" and also his commission, licence, and command-
" ment under his great seal to the said sir Edward
" and others, for the making of the said book.

" Also the king's pardon, signed with his highness'
" hand.

" Also it is to be considered that the said books
" were made in the king's life, seven or eight days
" before his death; and the queen's highness being
" successor by act of parliament to the crown, and
" having the same as a purchaser, may not lawfully
" by the laws of the realm punish the said offence
" done in the king's time.

" Also the said sir Edward hath humbly submitted
" himself to the queen's highness, and to the order
" of the commissioners; which commissioners have
" ordered the said sir Edward to pay to her highness

A.D. 1553. 1 Mary.

"a thousand pounds, who hath already paid thereof "five hundred pounds, and the other five hundred "pounds are to be paid at the feast of All Saints "come twelvemonth; and also to surrender his "letters patents of lands to the yearly value of fifty "pounds, called Eltyngton, which he had of the gift "of king Edward the Sixth, which was all the "reward he had of the said king Edward for his "service, costs, and expenses.

"Also it is to be considered that the said sir "Edward is put from his office of the chief "justiceship of the common pleas, being of the "yearly value of six hundred marks; which office "the most noble king of famous memory, king "Henry the Eighth, gave him in consideration of "his long service, and also had six weeks' imprison-"ment.

"Also it is to be considered that the same sir "Edward hath seventeen children, viz. eleven daugh-"ters and six sons; whereof one of the said sons had "his leg stricken off by the knee in Scotland, at "Musselborough field, the duke of Somerset being "there. And his son and heir, by his command-"ment, served the queen's highness with twenty "men, to the cost of the said sir Edward of one "hundred pounds, as the gentlemen of Buckingham-"shire can report."

So far the late judge with his own hand: wherein he affirmeth that he meddled not with the council in any thing afterward, as may appear by his not subscribing the letter of the lords to queen Mary, enjoining (shall I say?) or advising her to desist

from claiming the crown, whereto all the privy counsellors subscribed [d], only the hand of sir Edward Montague is wanting; and seeing, in the whole transaction of this matter, the obedience rather than invention of judge Montague was required, not to devise but draw things up according to articles tendered unto him, I cannot believe his report relating that the king used the advice of justice Montague in drawing up the letters patents, to furnish the same with reasons of law, as secretary Cecil with arguments from policy [e]. A D. 1553. 1 Mary.

3. Some will wonder that no mention herein of sir Roger Cholmely, lord chief justice of the king's bench, and in dignity above sir Edward Montague, (at this time but judge of the common pleas,) that he was not employed to draw up the book; but it seems judge Montague his judgment was more relied on, who had been formerly lord chief justice of the king's bench, and deserted it. Yet the said sir Roger Cholmely was imprisoned for bare subscribing his will, and, as it seems, lost his place for the same; for justice Bromley, though equally guilty with the rest, (so far favour extends in matters of this nature,) was not only pardoned, but, from an inferior judge, advanced to be successor to sir Roger Cholmely [f], and made judge of the king's bench [g]. Sir Roger Cholmely comes off with loss.

4. Whereas sir Edward saith that all the judges were sent for, and that many put their hands to the book, it intimateth that all did not, but that some Sir James Hales his honesty.

[d] See them extant in Mr. Fox, Acts and Mon., anno 1553, [Vol. III. p. 15.]

[e] Sir John Hayward's Life of Edward VI. [p. 417.]

[f] See sir H. Spelman's Glossary, in Justiciarius, [p. 343, ed. 1664.]

[g] [In the first year of this reign.]

A.D. 1553 1 Mary.

refused the same; it being eminently known, to the everlasting honour of sir James Hales, that no importunity could prevail with him to underwrite this will, as against both law and conscience [h].

Contest betwixt two religions.

5. Eight weeks and upwards passed between the proclaiming of Mary queen and the parliament by her assembled; during which time two religions were together set on foot, protestantism and popery, the former hoping to be continued, the latter labouring to be restored. And as the Jews' children, after the captivity, spake a middle language betwixt Hebrew and Ashdod [i], so during the aforesaid interim the churches and chapels in England had mongrel celebration of their divine services, betwixt reformation and superstition; for the obsequies for king Edward were held by the queen in the Tower, August the seventh, with the Dirige sung in Latin; and on the morrow a mass of requiem, and on the same day his corpse was buried at Westminster with a sermon service and communion in English. No small jostling was there betwixt the zealous

[h] [Notwithstanding his honesty and uprightness in this affair, he could not save himself from severe treatment in this reign. On Oct. 6th, 1553, he was committed to prison, "and so cruelly handled and "put in fears by talk, that the "warden of the Fleet used to "have in his hearing of such "torments as were in preparing for heretics, that he "sought to rid himself out of "this life by wounding himself "with a knife, and afterwards "was contented to say as they "willed him; whereupon he "was discharged; but after "that he never rested till he "had drowned himself in a "river, half a mile from his "house in Kent." Fox's Acts, &c, III. p. 19. The dialogue between him and Gardiner mentions Hales' support of queen Mary's claims. This dialogue was printed at the time, and is reprinted by Fox, ib. Bradford addressed a letter to him, while in prison. Letter of the Martyrs, p. 220, ed. 1837. See also the same letters, p. 295.]

[i] Neh. xiii. 24.

promoters of these contrary religions [k]. The protestants had possession on their side, and the protection of the laws lately made by king Edward, and still standing in free and full force unrepealed. Besides, seeing by the fidelity of the Suffolk and Norfolk protestant gentry the queen was much advantaged for the speedy recovering of her right, they conceived it but reason that as she by them had regained the crown, so they under her should enjoy their consciences. The papists put their ceremonies in execution, presuming on the queen her private practice and public countenance, especially after she had imprisoned some protestant and enlarged some popish bishops, advancing Stephen Gardiner to be lord chancellor. Many which were neuters before, conceiving which side the queen inclined, would not expect but prevent her authority in alteration; so that superstition generally got ground in the kingdom. Thus it is in the evening twilight, wherein light and darkness at first may seem very equally matched; but the latter within little time doth solely prevail [l]. A. D. 1553. 1 Mary.

[k] [Stow, 610, 611.]

[l] [Undoubtedly the evil practices of the nobility had done much towards producing a strong reaction against Protestantism. Even Burnet confesses that their fraudulent proceedings, combined with a general laxity of morals spreading frightfully among the people, gave the enemies of the Reformation too just a handle against them. "The open "lewdness," he says, "in which "many lived without shame or "remorse, gave great occasion "to their adversaries to say, "they were in the right to "assert justification by faith "without works; since they "were as to every good work "reprobate. Their gross and "insatiable scrambling after the "goods and wealth that had "been dedicated with good "designs, though to superstitious uses, without applying "any part of it to the promoting the gospel, the instructing the youth, and relieving the poor, made all "people conclude it was for

A. D. 1553. 1 Mary.

6. What impressions the coming in of queen Mary made on Cambridge shall, God willing, be presented in our particular history thereof. The sad

Mr Jewell pens the first congratulatory letter to the queen.

" robbery, and not for reforma-
" tion, that their zeal made
" them so active." Hist. of Ref. III. p. 216, fol. ed. Compare with this that excellent book of bishop Kennet's, The Impropriation of Vicarages. Elsewhere the bishop observes: " The irregular and
" immoral lives of many of the
" professors of the gospel gave
" their enemies great advan-
" tages to say they run away
" from confession, penance,
" fasting, and prayer, only that
" they might lie under no re-
" straint, but indulge them-
" selves in a licentious and
" dissolute course of life. By
" these things, that were but
" too visible in some of the
" more eminent among them,
" the people were much alien-
" ated from them. Some of
" the clergy that promoted the
" Reformation were not with-
" out very visible blemishes;
" some indiscretions, both in
" their marriages and in their
" behaviour, contributed not a
" little to raise a general aver-
" sion to them. It is true
" there were great and shining
" lights among them; but they
" were *few* in comparison with
" the many bad." This is very remarkable, as the conviction of the bishop's maturer years, and the result of much study in far more trustworthy documents than were those by which he had been guided in the earlier portions of his history. The generality of men are too much misled by Fox in forming any thing like a fair and just estimate of the reigns of king Edward and his successor. No king ever lived in this nation, except perhaps Henry VIII., whose reign was more disastrous to the cause of true religion, and consequently to the church, than was the reign of Edward VI. As bishop Burnet states, men were fast falling away from the truth altogether, or returning back to their ancient professions and opinions. It was the fires which were lighted in Smithfield which brought men back again, if not to soberer feelings, yet at least to greater caution. Whilst it purged the Reformation to a great extent of those who had professed it merely because it allowed a greater degree of laxity than Romanism, it threw a halo round those that suffered, a feeling of pity and respect for them, and of veneration for those opinions for which they suffered, which a milder policy had never produced. Without any such intention, queen Mary did far more for the Reformation than either of her predecessors. It was a miserable mistake on the queen's part, to say the least, or of her council, who were the chief authors in urging the bishops to proceed to such extremities. See Burnet, ib. p 263.]

and sudden alterations in Oxford thereby are now to be handled[m]. Master John Jewell was chosen to pen the first congratulatory letter to the queen, in the name of the university: an office imposed on him by his enemies, that either the refusal thereof should make him incur danger from his foes, or the performance expose him to the displeasure of his friends; yet he so warily penned the same in general terms, that his adversaries missed their mark. Indeed all as yet were confident that the queen would maintain the protestant religion, according to her solemn promise to the gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk, though she, being composed of courtship and popery, this her unperformed promise was the first court holy water which she sprinkled amongst the people. A. D. 1553. 1 Mary.

7. And because every one was counted a truant in popery who did not outrun the law, Dr. Tresham, an active papist and a van-courier before authority, repaired the great bell in Christ Church, which he new named and baptized Mary; and whilst Mr. Jewell was reading the letter he had penned to Dr. Tresham for his approbation thereof, presently that bell tolled to mass, (a parenthesis which was not in the letter,) and Tresham, breaking off his attention to what was written, exclaimed in a zealous ecstasy, "Oh, sweet Mary, how musically, how melodiously "doth she sound!" This bell then rung the knell for that time to the truth in Oxford, henceforward filled with protestant tears and popish triumphs. Mary, the new-baptized mass-bell in Christ Church.

8. Then Stephen Gardiner, visitor of Magdalen, Alteration by Gardi-

[m] [This account of Jewell and the proceedings at Oxford, upon the accession of queen Mary, is wholly taken from Humphrey's Life of Jewell, published by John Day, 1573.]

A. D. 1553. 1 Mary. as successor to William Wainfleet, bishop of Winchester, founder thereof, sent commissioners to the college, whereof sir Richard Read the chief, and Dr. Wright, archdeacon of Oxford, whereby strange effects were produced:

Queen's visitors in Magdalen College.

i. Walter Haddon, then president of the college [n], (though omitted by Brian Twyne, for what cause I know not, in their catalogue,) willingly quitted his place.

ii. Thomas Bentham, that year censor, being required to correct the scholars for their absence from popish prayers, ingenuously confessed his sorrow for his compliance in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, and constantly professed that he would not accumulate sin on sin; adding, moreover, that he accounted it not equal to punish that in others which he himself did willingly and wittingly commit, and thereon was outed of his place.

iii. Thomas Bickley was served in the same manner. This was he who, formerly snatching the host out of the pix at evening prayer, first rent it with his hands, then trampled it under his feet; and now expelled, with great difficulty escaped into France.

[n] Lawrence Humphrey, in his Latin Life of Dr. Jewell, p 71. ["Johannis Juelli Angli "Episcopi Sarisburiensis vita "et mors, ejusque veræ doc- "trinæ defensio, cum refuta- "tione quorundam objectorum, "Thomæ Hardingi, Nicol. "Sanderi, &c." Lond 1573. In composing this account of the Life of Jewell, which was dedicated to archbishop Parker and Dr Edwin Sandys, then bishop of London, as written by their desire, Humphrey was assisted by Dr Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, Jewell's intimate friend; by Giles Lawrence, who preached the bishop's funeral sermon; and John Garbrand, fellow of New College, to whom Jewell left the principal part of his MSS The last-mentioned person, in all probability, had once in his possession the now lost treatises of this celebrated prelate]

iv. Henry Bull, who about the same time openly in the choir snatched the censer out of his hands who was about to offer idolatrous incense therein, was likewise by the visitors put out of his fellowship. A. D. 1553. 1 Marv.

What shall I speak of learned Lawrence Humphrey, painful John Fox, studious Michael Renniger, sweet-natured John Mullins, (archdeacon of Paul's,) Arthur Saul, Peter Morvin, Hugh Kirke, and Luke Purefoy, dear brethren in Christ, all at this time forced to forsake their college; so that then Magdalen wept indeed for the loss of so many worthies. All this extremity was executed by these visitors, not as yet empowered by law, the statutes of king Edward standing hitherto unrepealed. But some are so desirous to worship the rising sun, that, to make sure work, they will adore the dawning day; and many of the Oxford scholars thought *prolepsis* the best figure in their grammar to foresee what the queen would have done, and to ingratiate themselves by antedating the doing thereof.

9. Of all the visitors in Magdalen college, archdeacon Wright was most moderate, seeking to qualify the cruelty of the rest, as far as he could or durst appear. Blind he was in one eye, but acute and clear-sighted in his mind; and though his compliance for the present cannot be excused, yet commendable was his forwardness, that presently on the crowning of queen Elizabeth he confessed his errors, and with a weak voice but strong arguments in his sermon preached in Allhallows, solidly confuted the main of popish opinions. This was his last will and testament, being at the present much decayed in his body, his strength only serving him to give a solemn

Archdeacon Wright, a moderate visitor, who afterwards recanted his errors and died peaceably

A. D. 1553. 1 Mary. account of his faith; for soon after he fell sick, and at the end of eight days, in perfect mind and memory, peaceably departed this life [o]; wherefore lying Saunders is not to be listened to, when reporting that this Wright died raving and distracted [p]; it being usual with him to account all those staring mad who are not stark blind with ignorance and superstition [q]. Let not Saunders be too busy in traducing God's dying servants, lest what he wrongfully chargeth on others justly befall himself, as it came to pass accordingly; for a learned pen [r] tells us that he died in Ireland *mente motus*, which if it amounts not to a madness, I understand not the propriety of that expression.

Mass set up in Corpus Christi College.

10. Pass we now from Magdalen to Corpus Christi college, where behold a sudden alteration, mass being presently brought up in the place of the communion. It may seem a wonder, seeing so many superstitious utensils are required thereunto, where the papists got attiring clothes for the theatrical pomp thereof; yet so it was, that they who to-day visibly had nothing, next day wanted nothing for the celebration of the mass. Surely these trinkets were never dropped down from heaven; but such who formerly had been cunning in concealing were now forward in producing their wicked wardrobe; and one college afforded enough, not only to suffice itself, but for the present to supply the whole university.

Jewell driven out

11. But how well soever any college kept their

[o] Lawrence Humph. ut prius, p. 76

[p] In Defence of the Pope's Monarchy, [p 690]

[q] Camd. Brit. in the year 1583

[r] Camdeni Annales, anno 1583, [p. 349]

superstitious trifles, sure I am Corpus Christi college lost an essential ornament thereof, namely, Mr. John Jewell, fellow therein, who, on his refusal to be present at mass and other popish solemnities, was driven out of the college, and retired himself to Broadgates Hall, where he continued for a short time in great danger. A. D. 1553. 1 Mary. of Corpus Christi College.

12. It was now high time for Mr. Peter Martyr seasonably to provide for his own security, who, being by birth a stranger, and invited over hither, and placed here by king Edward the Sixth, to be professor of divinity in Oxford, had the warrant of the public faith and the law of nations for his safety. Whereupon he solicited for leave to return, which was granted unto him. Well it was that he had protection of proof; otherwise such was the enmity of the papists, and so sharp set were the teeth of some persecuting bishops against him, that they would have made this martyr brook his own name, and have sacrificed his life to their fury. Peter Martyr departs the realm.

13. About the time of his departure, (pardon a short digression,) the Dutch congregation in London was also dissolved, gaining licence with much ado to transport themselves. These, taking the opportunity of two Danish ships then lying in Thames mouth, adventured themselves therein even in the beginning of winter, uncertain where to get any habitation. One hundred seventy and five were embarked in one vessel, from which the other was divided with tempest, and with much danger got at last to Elsinore in Denmark[s]. Had they stayed The Dutch congregation depart into Denmark

[s] John Utenhovius in Narratione de dissipata Belgarum Ecclesia, cap. 2.

A.D. 1553. 1 Mary. longer in England, until the queen's marriage with king Philip of Spain, being most of them his native subjects in the Netherlands, it had been difficult, if not impossible, for them to have procured their safe and public departure.

A dear copy of verses. 14. As for Mr. Jewell, he continued some weeks in Broadgates Hall, whither his scholars repaired unto him, whom he constantly instructed in learning and religion. Of all his pupils, Edward Year[t] in this one respect was most remarkable, who by his tutor being seasoned with the love of the truth, made a double copy of verses against the superstition of the mass, which so enraged Mr. Welsh (the censor, as I take it, of Corpus Christi college) against him, that he publicly and cruelly whipped him, laying on one lash for every verse he had made, which I conceive were about eighty in all. Part of them I have here thought fit to insert; and blessed be God I may translate and the reader peruse them without any pain and peril, and not at the dear rate whereat the author composed them. I have the rather presented them, because they proved as well prophetical as poetical, comfortably foretelling what afterwards certainly came to pass.

" *Supplex oro Patris veniant cœlestis ad aures*
" *Ex animo paucæ quas recitabo preces:*
" *Ecce patent aditus, patet alti janua Cœli*
" *Ad summum votis jam penetrabo Deum.*
" *Summe Pater, qui cuncta vides, qui cuncta gubernas,*
" *Qui das cuncta tuis, qui quoque cuncta rapis,*
" *Effice ne maneat longævos Missa per annos:*
" *Effice ne fallat decipiatve tuos;*

[t] So I conceive his name, whom Lawrence Humphrey, in Jewell's Life, p. 77, calls Edvardum Annum.

A. D. 1553. 1 Mary.

" *Effice ne cœcos populorum reddat ocellos*
" *Missa, docens verbo dissona multa tuo:*
" *Effice jam rursus Stygias descendat ad undas,*
" *Unde trahit fontem principiumque suum.*

" *Respondet Dominus spectans de sedibus altis,*
" *Ne dubites recte credere parve puer.*
" *Olim sum passus mortem, nunc occupo dextram*
" *Patris, nunc summi sunt mea regna poli:*
" *In cœlis igitur toto cum corpore versor,*
" *Et me terrestris nemo videre potest;*
" *Falsa sacerdotes de me mendacia fingunt,*
" *Missam quique colunt, hi mea verba negant.*
" *Duræ cervicis populus me mittere Missam*
" *Fecit, et e medio tollere dogma sacrum;*
" *Sed tu crede mihi, vires scriptura resumet,*
" *Tolleturque suo tempore Missa nequam*[u]."

Accept, O heavenly Father, I request,
These few devotions from my humble breast:
See, there's access, heaven's gate open lies,
Then with my prayers I'll penetrate the skies.
Great God! who all things seest, dost all things sway,
And all things giv'st, and all things tak'st away,
Let not the present mass long-lived be,
Nor let it those beguile belong to thee;
Thy people's eyes keep it from blinding quite,
Since to thy word it is so opposite:
But send it to the Stygian lakes below,
From whence its rise and source doth spring and flow.

The Lord, beholding from his throne, reply'd,
Doubt not, young youth, firmly in me confide;
I died long since, now sit at the right hand
Of my blest Father, and the world command;

[u] [Humphrey's Life of Jewell, p. 78.]

A. D. 1553. 1 Mary.

My body wholly dwells in heavenly light,
Of whom no earthly eye can gain a sight.
The shameless priests of me forge truthless lies,
And he that worships mass my word denies;
A stiffneck'd people for their sins did make
Me send them mass, my word away to take;
But trust me, Scripture shall regain her sway,
And wicked mass in due time fade away.

Mr. Jewell his great fall.

15. But to return to Mr. Jewell. He had not lived long in Broadgates Hall, when by the violence of the popish inquisitors being assaulted on a sudden to subscribe, he took a pen in his hand, and smiling, said, "Have you a mind to see how well I can "write?" and thereupon underwrit their opinions. Thus the most orient jewel on earth hath some flaws therein. To conceal this his fault, had been partiality; to excuse it, flattery; to defend it, impiety; to insult over him, cruelty; to pity him, charity; to admire God in permitting him, true devotion; to be wary of ourselves in the like occasion, Christian discretion.

Carnal compliance never profits.

16. Such as go out when God openeth them a door to escape, do peaceably depart; but such who break out at the window, either stick in the passage or bruise themselves by falling down on the outside. Jewell may be an instance hereof, whose cowardly compliance made his foes no fewer without him, and one the more, a guilty conscience, within him. The papists neither loved, nor honoured, nor trusted him any whit the more for this his subscription, which they conceived not cordial, forced from him by his fear; yea, thereby he gained not any degree of more safety; and his life being waylaid for, with great difficulty he got over into Germany.

17. *Rejoice not over me, O mine enemy; for though I fall, yet shall I rise again*, as here it came to pass: coming to Frankfort, he had Dr. Edwin Sandys (afterwards archbishop of York,) for his board and bedfellow, who counselled Mr. Jewell, with the joint advice of Mr. Chambers and Mr. Sampson, his bosom friends, to make a public confession of his sorrow for his former subscription: whereupon on a Sunday, after his forenoon's sermon, in the congregation of Frankfort, he bitterly bewailed his fall, and heartily requested pardon from God and his people, whom thereby he had offended. Wet were the eyes of the preacher, and those not dry of all his auditors. What he fairly requested was freely given; and henceforward all embraced him as a brother in Christ, yea, as an angel of God; yea, whosoever seriously considereth the high parts Mr. Jewell had in himself, and the high opinion others had of him, will conclude his fall necessary for his humiliation.

A. D. 1553. 1 Mary.

Mr. Jewell's seasonable and sincere recovery.

18. But to return to Oxford, whither, about this time, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were brought to be baited in disputation by the fiercest papists of both universities; which worthy bishops, restrained in liberty, debarred from books, deprived of friends, and straitened for time, were brought out of the prison to dispute, and after the end thereof thither remanded. Here it is sad to recount those legions of taunts which were passed upon them. They who had three logical terms in every syllogism had far more railing ones after it, in following their argument, and opprobrious improving thereof against the prisoners. Wherefore when Weston, the prolocutor, or obloquutor rather, closed all with his vainglorious brag, *vicit veritas*, many of the impartial auditors

The issueless issue of a disputation at Oxford.

A. D. 1553. 1 Mary

conceived that *vicit vanitas* was a truer conclusion of the disputation; though indeed there could be no proper victory where there was no fair fight, things not being methodized with scholastical formality, but managed with tumultuous obstreperousness. See all at large in Mr. Fox, to transcribe which would be tedious, exscribe something imperfect, contract all obscure. May the reader therefore be remitted thither for his perfect satisfaction; only I will add, this disputation was but a preparative or prologue to the tragedy of these bishops' deaths; as it were to dry their bodies the more aforehand, that afterwards they might burn the brighter and clearer for the same [x].

Some Oxford men invited to undertake a proper task.

19. But we leave the prosecution hereof with the impression made by the alteration of religion on every several college in Oxford, to some learned men of that university, as an office proper for them to perform, having as their education therein, so their advantage thereby in consulting the registers of their several colleges. I have hitherto and shall hereafter be the shorter in matters of this university, remembering two profitable precepts for this purpose: the one, *Minus notis minus diu insistendum;* the other, ξένος ὢν ἀπράγμων ἴσθι,—"Being a stranger, be not "over-busy;" who confess myself bred in another

[x] [Unfortunately the queen had too good a reason for proceeding against Ridley; since, if Stow's information be correct, he had incurred the guilt of high treason for on the 16th of July, a few days after king Edward's death, by the command of the council then in favour of the duke of Northumberland, he "preached at "Paul's Cross, where he vehe-"mently persuaded the people "in the title of the lady Jane, "late proclaimed queen, and "inveighed earnestly against "the title of lady Mary and "the lady Elizabeth, her sis-"ter." Stow's Chron. 611. Strype's Mem. III. 3.]

seminary of learning. Wherefore if my tongue, long acquainted with Cambridge *Siboleth*, have or shall chance to falter in pronouncing the terms of art or topical titles proper to this university, I hope the reader's smile shall be all the writer's punishment. For as I heartily profess the fidelity of my affections to my aunt, and humbly request that my weakness or want of intelligence may no way tend to her prejudice, so I expect that my casual mistakes should meet with a pardon, of course; and if any of her own children (which is much to be desired) will hereafter write a particular history of Oxford, I should be joyful if the best beams I can bring will but make him scaffolds, and the choicest of my corner-stones but serve to fill up the walls of his more beautiful building. A.D. 1553. 1 Mary.

20. We have something trespassed on time to make our story of Oxford entire, and must now go a little backward. The queen being crowned on the first of October[y], her first parliament began the Protestant bishops withdraw themselves from the parliament.

y [Stephen Perlin, a French ecclesiastic, an eyewitness of the scenes which he describes, who wrote "A Description of "England and Scotland," published at Paris in 1558, gives a curious account of queen Mary's accession. He says that she immediately "caused the images "to be replaced, and brought "back the service to the Latin "language, and made several "proclamations, edicts, and "prohibitions throughout all "England against eating of "flesh on Fridays and Saturdays, on pain of being hanged "and strangled. (!) And then "you might have seen those "which had been bishops, who "had been displaced by the "young king Edward and his "late father Henry, coming in "great joy and magnificence "about the town, mounted on "mules and little pompous "horses, dressed in great gowns "of black camlet, over which "were beautiful surplices, their "heads covered with satin "hoods, like those worn by "the monks, being joyous on "account of the queen's victory.

"In the mean time the "queen made her public entry "into London in great state "and magnificence, the citi-

A.D. 1553. 1 Mary. fifth day following, wherein, God wot, a poor appearance of Protestant bishops: for Cranmer of Canterbury was in the Tower for treason; Ridley of London, and Ponet of Winchester, were displaced on

" zens' children walking before " her magnificently dressed; " afterwards followed gentlemen habited in velvets of all " sorts, some black, others in " white, yellow, violet, and " carnation; others wore satins " or taffety, and some damasks " of all colours, having plenty " of gold buttons; afterwards " followed the mayor of the " city, with several handsome " companies, and the chiefs " and masters of the several " trades; after them the milors " richly habited, and the most " considerable knights; next " come the ladies, married and " single, in the midst of whom " was madame Mary, queen of " England, mounted on a small " white ambling nag, the housings of which were fringed " with gold thread; about her " were six lacqueys, habited in " vests of cloth of gold. The " queen herself was dressed in " violet-coloured velvet, and " was then about forty years of " age, and rather fresh-coloured. Before her were six " lords bareheaded, each carrying in his hand a golden " mace, and some others bearing the arms and crown. " Behind her followed the " archers, as well of the first " as the second guard; those " of the first guard were clothed " in scarlet, bound with black " velvet, and on their escutcheons they had a golden " rose, which is called in English *rose peni*, and under this " rose was a golden crown with " high leaves, in form of an " imperial crown; the second " guard were clothed in scarlet, " bound with black velvet, and " on their escutcheons was interwoven a true lovers' knot, " and an E in the middle, and " on the other side an R, done " in order to make a distinction " between the two guards. " She was followed by her sister, named madame Elizabeth, in truth a beautiful " princess, who was also well " accompanied by ladies, both " married and single. Then " might you hear the firing of " divers pieces of artillery, " bombards, and cannons, and " many rejoicings made in the " city of London; and afterwards the queen, being in " triumph and royal magnifi- " cence in her palace and castle " of Westminster, took it into " her head to go to hear mass " at Paul's; that is to say, at " the church of St. Paul's.—It " happened that an English- " man, during mass, threw a " dagger at the priest, making " a great tumult, mass not " having been celebrated in " this country for six or seven " years." Antiq. Repertory, I. 227.

the restitution of Bonner and Gardiner; Holgate of York, Bush of Bristol, Bird of Chester, Hooper of Worcester and Gloucester, Barlow of Bath and Wells, Scory of Chichester, Ferrar of St. David's, Coverdale of Exeter, were already deprived, either for being married or delivering some displeasing doctrines. Only two Protestant bishops, viz. John Taylor of Lincoln, and John Harley of Hereford [z], (on what score I know not,) found the favour to be last undone, as remaining undeprived at the beginning of the parliament, where they presented themselves according to their duty, and took their place amongst the lords. But presently began solemn mass, after the popish manner; which these two good bishops not abiding, withdrew themselves, and shortly both of them died their natural deaths; Providence graciously preventing their violent destructions. A. D. 1553. 1 Mary.

21. All the rest of the bishops present in parliament, (as Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield, Capon of Salisbury, Thirlby of Norwich, Bulkley of Bangor, Parfew of St. Asaph, Kitchin of Landaff [a],) though dissembling themselves Protestants in the days of king Edward, now returned to their vomit and the advancing of popery. No wonder then if all things were acted according to their pleasure, the statute of *præmunire* made by king Henry the Eighth and many other good laws of Edward the Sixth repealed; mass and Latin service, with the main of popery, re-established. Popery restored by the rest.

22. But in the convocation which began few days after, amongst all the clergy therein assembled there Oct. 18.

[z] Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 1410. [= III. 16.]

[a] Ely and Oxford I conceive void at this time.

A.D. 1553. 1 Mary. were found but six which opposed the reduction of popery [b], viz.

Six Protestant champions in the convocation

i. Walter Philips, dean of Rochester.
ii. James Haddon, dean of Exeter.
iii. John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester.
iv. Richard Cheney, archdeacon of Hereford.
v. John Aylmer, archdeacon of Stow.
vi. One whose name is not recorded.

Oct. 25. Of these, Mr. Philpot, one of a fervent spirit, but not to any distemper, as some suspect, was so zealous against transubstantiation, that he offered to maintain the negative by God's word, and confound any six who should withstand him in that point; "Or else," saith he, "let me be burned with as "many fagots as be in London before the court "gates [c]."

Weston his railing on Mr. Philpot.

23. But Weston, the prolocutor in the convocation, threatened him with the prison, adding that he was a madman, meeter to be sent to Bedlam than continue there. Philpot returned, he would think
Oct 30. himself happy to be out of that company. "Nay, "lest you slander the house," said Weston, "and "say we will not suffer you to declare your mind, "we are content you come into the house as for- "merly, on two conditions: first, that you be appa- "relled in a long gown and tippet, as we are; "secondly, that you speak not but when I command "you." "Then," said Philpot, "I had rather be "absent altogether;" and so it seems departed the
Dec. 13 place, and soon after the convocation ended, having

[b] [Laity as well as clergy were unfavourable to protestantism. See Strype's Mem. III. 53, 56.]

[c] Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 1413 [=III. 23.]

concluded all things to the hearts' desire of the papists therein. A.D. 1553. 1 Mary.

24. Afterwards Philpot was troubled by Gardiner for his words spoken in the convocation. In vain did he plead the privilege of the place, commonly reputed a part of parliament, alleging also how Weston the prolocutor once and again assured them that the queen had given them leave and liberty fully and freely to debate of matters of religion, according to their own conscience. Once at his examination the lord Rich affirmed that the convocation was no part of the parliament house [d]; and we must believe him herein, because a lawyer and a lord chancellor; otherwise we have the statute 8 Hen. VI., "That the clergy of the convocation shall "have such liberty as they that come to the par- "liament." In fine, Philpot, in defence of the truth, acted the valiant part of a martyr according to his promise, though the scene was altered from the court gates to Smithfield. Philpot sealeth the truth with his blood.

25. The match of queen Mary with Philip king of Spain was now as commonly talked of as generally distasted. To hinder the same, sir Thomas Wyat, a Kentish knight, took arms, with a great party assisting him. Saunders [e] saith, and that very truly, that he was *magnæ potentiæ virum*, being indeed well born, well allied, well learned, well landed, and well loved; wanting neither wit, wealth, nor valour, though at present all were ill employed by him. Indeed this his treason may be said to fall in labour, some weeks before the full time thereof, occasioned Wyat's rising to hinder the Spanish match. Jan 20.

[d] Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 1806. [= III. 552.]

[e] [De Schism. Angl. p. 230.]

A. D. 1554. 1 Mary. by a sudden fright; and therefore no wonder if the issue thereof proved abortive. For Wyat, hearing that one of his dear friends [f] was cast into the Fleet, (though for a cause unrelating to this plot, to which the party was privy,) suspected (as guilt is ever jealous) that this his friend had betrayed the design; which made Wyat anticipate the due date thereof, and break out the sooner into open hostility [g].

The queen's herald sent unto him.

26. The queen, hearing of his commotion, sent an herald unto him to desist, which herald came to sir Thomas his house, deeply moated round about, the bridge being drawn up, yet so that a place like a ford pretended a safe passage thereunto. On the inside thereof walked the proper case of a man well habited, and his face carrying no despair of wisdom therein. The herald asked him whether he might safely go over there, to whom the other slightly answered, "Yea, yea." But had not the strength of his horse been more than ordinary, he either had been drowned in the water or buried in the mud.

Almost drowned with false directions.

27. The herald, hardly escaping, fills all the house with complaints, that being an officer sent from the queen under the protection of the public faith, (having his coat, his conduct, upon him,) he should be so

[f] [Proctor, ib f 2.]

[g] [An account of Wyat's rebellion (the source from which most of our chroniclers have drawn their information) was published this same year, under the following title: "The His- "tory of Wyates Rebellion, "with the order and manner "of resisting the same; where- "unto in the end is added an "earnest Conference with the "degenerate and seditious Re- "bels for the search of the "cause of their daily disorder. "Made and compiled by John "Proctor. Mense Decembris, "anno 1554. Imprinted at "London, by Robert Caly, "within the precinct of the "late dissolved house of the "Gray Friars, now converted "to an hospital called Christ's "Hospital. The xxii. day of "December, 1554." 12mo.]

wilfully abused by false directions, to the danger of his life, by one of sir Thomas his servants. The knight, highly offended at the fault, (as gentleman enough, and enemy to actions of baseness,) summons all his servants to appear before the herald, vowing that the offender should be sent prisoner to the queen with his legs bound beneath his horse's belly, to receive from her the reward of his wickedness. A. D. 1554. 1 Mary.

28. The herald challengeth the party at the first sight of him. "Alas!" said sir Thomas, "he is a "mere natural, as will appear if you please to "examine him." "Why, sirrah," said the herald, "did you direct me to come over where it was "almost impossible to pass without drowning?" To whom the other answered, "The ducks came "over not long before you, whose legs were shorter "than your horse's." Hereat the herald smiled out his anger, adding withal, "Sir Thomas, hereafter let "your fool wear the badge of his profession on him, "that he may deceive no more in this kind." But pass we to matters of more moment. Wyat courteously dismissed the herald, but denying to desist, marched to Rochester, to meet his complices out of the west of Kent, who came short unto him, as intercepted and routed (with sir Henry Ilsley, their conductor) by the lord Abergavenny [h], though this loss was presently repaired. But all ends in merriment.

29. For when Thomas duke of Norfolk marched down with five hundred Londoners, in white coats, to resist Wyat, and was now come to Stroud, on the other side of Rochester, the Londoners revolted to Wyat. Thus the most valiant leader cannot make his followers loyal. Yet these Londoners, false to The Londoners revolt to Wyat Jan. 29.

[h] [Henry Nevill]

A. D. 1554. 1 Mary. forsake the duke, were faithful not to betray his person, which they might easily have done if so disposed. Wyat is much elated with this supply, as more in the omen than in itself; who, concluding all Londoners of the same lump, hereby promised himself easy entrance into that city, and hearty entertainment therein.

Wyat's insolence, and queen Mary her oration.

30. Wyat his insolency is said to rise with his success; so that, having a treaty with some of the privy counsellors in his passage to London, he demanded unreasonable conditions, affirming that he would rather be trusted than trust, and therefore requiring the person of the queen, the Tower of London to be committed unto him, with power to displace evil counsellors; not propounded with more pride, but that with as much scorn they were refused. Meantime queen Mary came to Guildhall, and there made a long oration; and indeed, if on just occasion she could not speak confidently and pertinently, she was neither daughter to her father nor to her mother. Mr. Fox addeth that she seemed to have perfectly conned her speech without book[i]; which, if so, sounds nothing to her disgrace, some being for extempore prayers, but none to my knowledge for extempore policy. This her oration secured the affections of the citizens unto her, as by the sequel will appear.

Feb. 1.

Southwark entered, and prisons opened.

31. Entering Southwark, he enjoined his soldiers to offer no violence, or take any thing without payment[j]; yet Winchester House soon felt their fury, though such, by his command, (a general can but proclaim, and punish the breakers of his proclama-

[Feb 3]

[i] Acts and Mon. p. 1419. [III. 30.] [j] [Stow's Chron. p. 619.]

tion,) were made exemplary for their rapine [k]. Then were the prisons (and Southwark is well stored with houses of that kind) set open for such who were guilty only of pretended heresy, not felony and murder. But those who thanked him for his courtesy refused the acceptance thereof, (a tender conscience is a stronger obligation than a prison,) because as they were legally committed they would be legally discharged. A. D. 1554. 1 Mary.

32. But now all the towers of the Tower, and the tops of the square steeples near the bridge foot, on the other side, were planted with ordnance (so that both church and state threatened his ruin) ready to be discharged into Southwark, either to beat down the borough, or to force Wyat to depart; who, perceiving it impossible to force his passage into London over the bridge, and moved with the miserable moans of the Southwarkers, left their borough; and though towards the evening, marched swiftly, silently, secretly to Kingston-upon-Thames. Speed begets speed, quickness causeth success in matters of exe- Southwark left, Kingston marched to. Feb. 6.

[k] [Their fury was directed against Gardiner, then lord chancellor; and so maliciously were they set against him, as to spoil all his goods, though without any benefit to themselves. "Divers of his company," says Stow, "being gentlemen, (as they said,) went to Winchester Place, made havoc of the bishop's goods; not only of his victuals, whereof there was plenty, but whatsoever else, not leaving so much as one lock of a door, but the same was taken off and carried away, nor a book in his gallery or library uncut or rent into pieces, so that men might have gone up to the knees in leaves of books cut out and thrown under feet." Stow, ib. Indeed this rebellion was raised as much upon religious as other pretexts; and it is much to be regretted that the celebrated Dr. Ponet, the bishop of Winchester, who afterwards went over and died in Germany, should have been a leader in this commotion. See the anecdote mentioned respecting him by Stow, Chron. 621.]

A.D. 1554. 1 Mary

cution, as here in Wyat his coming to Kingston before any almost had notice of his motion.

The carelessness of the queen her soldiers.

33. But Wyat was not so much advantaged with his own expedition as with the coincident oversights of the queen's party, whose carelessness and cowardice met together, enough to destroy her cause, had not Divine Providence resolved with final success to rectify all human mistakes. First, such set to order Kingston Bridge did their work by halves, breaking and not breaking it down; so that, the substantials standing, the rest were easily repaired for Wyat his safe passage over. Secondly, two hundred men set to defend the opposite bank quitted their station [l], [on] the very sight of two pieces of ordnance planted against them. Thirdly, the queen's scouts lost their eyes, and deserved to lose their heads, who could not discover a body of four thousand men marching with a large train of artillery; so that the queen had notice thereof by the Kentish fugitives sooner than by her own scouts [m].

Wyat his march how retarded.

34. But time soon gained by Wyat was as soon lost, on the accident of a piece of ordnance breaking its carriage. Now whilst the army waited the leisure of bringing up this broken piece, (an hour to Wyat being of greater consequence than the greatest gun,) he came short of the time prefixed to such citizens as were fautors of his cause; otherwise he had been at London in the night, taking his enemies napping before they dreamt of him; and all terror is most

[l] Bishop Godwin's Annals of England in queen Mary, p 394. [Stow's Chron. p. 620.]

[m] [A rebel, named Harper, slipped from him whilst Wyat was occupied in repairing his ordnance, and so made known the whole matter to the queen. Stow, ib.]

active in the dark, when the less men see, the more they suspect; whereas now it was break of day before they had gotten to Knightsbridge. A. D. 1554. 1 Mary.

35. Wyat had a double design, and performed them both alike: one violently to take Whitehall, the other peaceably to be taken into London. Captain Vaughan, with five hundred Welshmen, (and one would wonder how they should straggle into Kent,) embraced the right-hand way towards Westminster, and then wheeled away to Whitehall, his men shooting their arrows (regardless where they lighted) into the windows of the court, but could not force their passage into it. Wyat went directly to Charing Cross, where he met with some opposition, but continued his resolution for London. His double design.

36. Here one might have observed, that within three hours the tongue of the multitude in London thrice altered their tunes. First they cried, Three tunes of London in three hours.

i. "A Wyat, a Wyat!" every mouth giving the alarm to the next man he met. The next note was,

ii. "Treason, treason!" all suspecting that the earl of Pembroke [n], the queen's general, had revolted, because, hovering aloof in the fields, he suffered Wyat his van and main battle (cutting off some of the rear) to march undisturbed, save with one shot, from Knightsbridge to Charing Cross. Their next tune was,

iii. "Down with the draggle-tails, down with the draggle-tails!"

And indeed no wonder if these Kentish men

[n] [William Herbert.]

A.D 1554 1 Mary. (marching in the dark to avoid discovery, in the depth of winter, through dirty ways) were richly landed in their clothes, and well fringed with mire and mud about them.

Wyat stopped at Ludgate.

37. Wyat himself marched directly up the Strand and Fleet Street, with the loss of less than twenty men, and coming to Ludgate, promised himself entrance into the city; but there he found nothing forbid his admission, save a strong gate close shut and well fortified against him with men and ammunition. From that minute he went backward both in motion and success. Returning to Fleet Street, he sat down on a bench over against the Bell Savage, (an inn so called because given by one Isabel Savage to the company of cutlers [o],) and there too late began to bemoan and accuse his own rashness. Retreating to Temple Bar, he was faced with some horse; and after a fight, being moved by a herald to submit himself, "Then will I yield," saith he, "to a gentle-"man:" and so submitted himself, say most [p], to sir Maurice Berkley; say others [q], to sir Clement Passon: being in neither of them mistaken for their gentle extraction.

Penitent at his execution. April 11.

38. Hence was he carried to Whitehall to be examined, thence to the Tower to be committed. Entering therein, sir John Bridges, lieutenant thereof, taking him by the collar, with his dagger in his hand, "Ah! traitor," saith he, "I would stab thee "myself, but that I know thou wilt be executed [r]."

[o] Stow's Survey of London.

[p] Holinshed, [p. 1098.] Stow, [p. 621.] Speed, [ch. xxii. §. 45.]

[q] Fox, p. 1419. [III. 30.]

[r] Holinshed, [p. 1099. Wyat begged hard to have his life spared, promising to use all his influence to advance the queen's marriage, then gene-

To whom the other calmly replied, "Sir, it is no "mastery now." Some days after, he suffered penitently and patiently on the scaffold, condemning his own act; and therefore we have spoken the less against him, for speaking so much against himself. Fifty of his complices were hanged; four hundred, led with ropes about their necks, pardoned by the queen, and all things stilled and quieted [s]. A.D. 1554. 1 Mary.

rally disliked by the nation; but his suit was denied, chiefly by the interference of the emperor. "The priests," says Burnet, "at this time understood the interests of their "cause better than others did "above an age after; for they "moved the queen to shew a "signal act of mercy, and to "pardon all that had been engaged in this rising." Ref. III. 225.]

[s] [There is a very characteristic notice in Stow, bearing the marks of an authentic narrative, of the reception of Wyat and his complices at the Tower. "About five of the clock," says the chronicler, "Thomas Wyat, "William Knivett, Thomas "Cobham, two brethren named "Mantels, and Alexander Brett, "were brought by sir Henry "Jerningham, by water, to the "Tower, prisoners, where sir "Philip Denny received them "at the Bulwark; and as Wyat "passed by, he said, 'Go, traitor! there was never such a "traitor in England.' To whom "sir Thomas Wyat turned and "said, 'I am no traitor. I "would thou shouldst well "know thou art more traitor "than I: it is not the part of "an honest man to call me so.' "And so went forth When "he came to the Tower gate, "sir Thomas Bridges, lieutenant, took him through the "wicket, first Mantel, and "said, 'Ah! traitor, what "hast thou and thy company "wrought?' But he, holding "down his head, said nothing. "Then came Thomas Knivett, "whom master Chamberlain, "gentleman porter of the "Tower, took in. Then came "Alexander Brett, whom sir "Thomas Pope took by the "bosom, saying, 'Oh! traitor, "how couldst thou find in thy "heart to work such a villainy, "as to take wages, and, being "trusted over a band of men, "to fall to her enemies, returning against her in battle?' "Brett answered, 'Yea, I have "offended in that case' Then "came Thomas Cobham, whom "sir Thomas Pomes took in, "and said, 'Alas! master Cobham, what wind headed you "to work such treason?' And "he answered, 'Oh! sir, I was "seduced.' Then came sir "Thomas Wyat, whom sir John "Bridges took by the collar, "and said, 'Oh! thou villain "and unhappy traitor, how

A. D. 1554. 2 Mary.

39. Long since had queen Mary sent for cardinal Pole, in Italy, to come over into England; but Charles the emperor, by the pope's power, secretly retarded his return, fearing it might obstruct the propounded marriage betwixt king Philip his son and queen Mary. Indeed the queen bare Pole an unfeigned affection; and no wonder to him that considereth,

The emperor why jealous of cardinal Pool.

i. Their age; he being about ten years older, the proportion allowed by the philosopher betwixt husband and wife.

ii. Parentage; she being daughter to king Henry the Eighth; he, by his mother Margaret, (daughter to George duke of Clarence,) great-grandchild to Edward the Fourth's father.

iii. Education: both, when young, brought up together; the aforesaid lady Margaret being governess of queen Mary in her infancy [t].

iv. Religion: both zealous catholics, and suffering, the queen confinement, the cardinal exile for the same.

" couldst thou find in thy heart " to work such detestable trea- " son to the queen's majesty, " who gave thee thy life and " living once already, though " thou didst before this time " bear arms in the field against " her, and now to yield her " battle, to her marvellous " trouble and fright? If it " were not,' saith he, 'but that " the law must pass upon thee, " I would stick thee through " with my dagger.' To the " which Wyat, holding his arms " under his side, and looking " grievously with a grim look " upon the lieutenant, said, " 'It is no mastery now;' and " so passed on. Thomas Wyat " had on a shirt of mail, with " sleeves very fair, thereon a " velvet cassock, and a yellow " lace, with the windlace of his " dag hanging thereon, and a " pair of boots and spurs on " his legs; and on his head a " fair hat of velvet, with broad " bone-work lace about it." Chron. p. 622.]

[t] [Pole was fifty-four, a fact of itself sufficient to refute this absurd supposition.]

His person also and nature was such as might deserve love; and though a cardinal deacon, yet that shallow character might easily be shaved off by the pope's dispensation; so that there was some probability of their marriage: and oh! how royally religious would their offspring have been, extracted from a crown and a cardinal's cap. A. D. 1554. 2 Mary.

40. But now, when the marriage with prince Philip was made up, Pole at last got leave for England [u]; and to wipe away all superstition of Lutheranism wherewith he was formerly taxed, he became a cruel, that he might be believed a cordial papist; for meeting in Brabant with Emanuel Tremellius, requesting some favour from him, he not only denied him relief, but also returned him railing terms, though formerly he had been his familiar friend, yea, his godfather, giving him his name at the font when Tremellius from a Jew first turned Christian [x]. Pool at last gets leave for England.

41. Arrived in England, he was first ordained priest, (being but deacon before,) and then consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, by Heath, archbishop of York, and six other bishops, the queen herself being present thereat, in the Franciscan church at Greenwich, one of those bankrupt convents which her grace had set up again [y]. Three days after, he was dedicated in Bow Church, in Cheapside, where, rich in costly robes, and sitting on a gilded throne, his pall was presented unto him. Adorned herewith, Pole presently mounts the pulpit, and makes a dry sermon [z] of the use and honour of the Is ordained priest, and consecrated archbishop.

[u] [Where he arrived Nov. 24, 1554. See Stow, 625.]

[x] Parker's Antiq. 519, 523.

[y] [He was not created archbishop until after Cranmer's death, and received his pall March 25, 1556. Stow, 628.]

[z] [Parker's Antiq. 526-7.]

A.D. 1554. 2 Mary. pall, without good language or matter therein, (may they all make such who take for their text what is not in scripture,) many much admiring the jejuneness of his discourse, as if putting off his parts when putting the pall upon him.

England reconciled to Rome.

42. Now sat the second parliament in this queen's reign, wherein she parted with her supremacy to the pope; and Pole, by his power legatine, solemnly reconciled England to the church of Rome; that is, set it at open odds and enmity with God and His truth. Then did he dispense with much irregularity in several persons, confirming the institution of clergymen in their benefices, legitimating the children of forbidden marriages, ratifying the processes and sentences in matters ecclesiastical; and his dispensations were confirmed by acts of parliament, as in the statutes at large appear. Then was Anthony Brown, viscount Mountacute[a], Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Carne, sent on a congratulatory embassy to pope Paul the Fourth, to tender England's thanks for his great favours conferred thereon[b]; a

[a] [Created viscount Montague, Sept 2, 1554 See Stow, p. 625.]

[b] [According to archbishop Parker, (Antiq 525,) Pole exercised this part of his legatine power in 1554, immediately on his arrival in England. At the time of his entry, a parliament was then holden at Westminster, to which the cardinal was conducted with great solemnity; and after a few words from Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor, he proceeded to address the house, exhorting them to abolish such laws as had been passed during the separation of this kingdom from the Romish see, and to return to their allegiance to that church. His speech, which was couched in very elegant language, was received in general with great admiration and applause; his own party more particularly were loud in their praise, exclaiming that the day was a day of new birth to them and their hopes. The speech was afterwards translated into Latin by the celebrated Roger Ascham, and transmitted to Rome.

sad and certain presage of heavy persecution, which immediately did ensue. A. D. 1554. 2 Mary.

(Epist. p. 24) And the cardinal's legatine authority being at once acknowledged, he proceeded, on the third day after, upon the supplication of the parliament, to absolve this realm, and afterwards to reconcile it to the holy see. The form of absolution which the cardinal used on this occasion is printed by Heylyn, Ref p 212, Dodd in his Church History, vol. II. p. 62, new ed.; and a short abstract of the various letters and papers which passed on the occasion of Pole's coming into this country will be found in Burnet, Ref. III. 228, fol.]

SECT. II.

TO

MR. THOMAS BOWYER,

OF THE OLD JEWRY, MERCHANT[a]

You may with much joy peruse this sad story of persecution presented unto you, whose grandfather, Francis Bowyer[b], *brought no fuel to these flames, but endeavoured to quench them. The Church is indebted to him for saving reverend*

[a] [Arms. Or, a bend vair, cottised, sable. "Thomas Bowyer, "of London, merchant, 1634," as he is entered in the Visitation for that year, (Harl. MSS. 1476,) was the second son of Robert Bowyer and Margaret Cordell. The elder branch of the family, who enjoyed the honour of knighthood, were settled at Denham in the county of Bucks, where they still remain at the present day. In the inscription on the father's monument in the church of St. Olave's Jewry, (see Stow's Survey, vol I. iii. 57,) erected by this and his other sons, they are all stated to be bachelors. Either he died without issue or removed from London, as his name does not occur in the Visitation of London taken about thirty years after. Fuller again acknowledges the kindness of this generous patron in his Pisgah Sight, (Map, p. 103:) "Thomæ Bowyer, viro "antiquæ fidei, mercatori Lon- "dinensi, inter principes stu- "diorum suorum fautores me- "morando, pro largo benefi- "ciorum imbræ recepto, &c." And in the larger map prefixed to the same work is a dedication to Robert Cordell, Bowyer's maternal relation.]

[b] Afterward sheriff of London, anno 1577, [and alderman. See Stow's Survey, p 588.]

Dr. Alexander Nowel, (then schoolmaster of Westminster, designed to death by Bonner,) and sending him safe beyond the seas. Thus he laid a good foundation, to which I impute the firm standing of your family; it being rare to see (as in yours) the third generation, in London, living in the same habitation. May many more of the stock succeed in the same, the desire of

Your obliged Friend,

T. F.



E come now to set down those particular martyrs that suffered in this queen's reign; but this point hath been handled already so curiously and copiously by Mr. Fox, that his industry herein hath starved the endeavours of such as shall succeed him, leaving nothing for their pens and pains to feed upon. *For what can the man do that cometh after the king? even that which hath been already done*, saith Solomon [c]. And Mr. Fox appearing sole emperor in this subject, all posterity may despair to add any remarkable discoveries which have escaped his observation. Wherefore to handle this subject after him, what is it but to light a candle to the sun? or rather, (to borrow a metaphor from his book,) "to kindle one single stick to the burning "of so many fagots?" However, that our pains may not wholly be wanting to the reader herein, we will methodize these martyrs according to the several dioceses, and make on them some brief observations [d].

A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

The disposing of the future matter.

[c] Eccles. ii. 12.

[d] [In reference to this matter it ought in fairness to have been stated, that the queen shewed no severity to the reformers generally until after Wyat's insurrection, in which treasonable attempt so many

A.D. 1555 3 Mary.

Persecution in the diocese of Exeter.

2. In the diocese of Exeter (containing Cornwall and Devonshire) I find but one martyr, namely, Agnes Priest [e], condemned by William Stanford, then judge of the assize of Launceston, but burned at Exeter. The tranquillity of these parts is truly imputed to the good temper of James Turberville, the bishop [f], one as genteelly qualified as extracted, and not so cruel to take away the lives from others as careful to regain the lost livings to his church; and indeed he recovered to him and his successors the fee-farm of the manor of Crediton [g]. Yet to shew his sincerity in religion, that he might not seem to do nothing, he dipped his fingers in this poor woman's blood, but did not afterwards wash his hands in the persecution of any other protestant, for aught we can find in any history.

In the diocese of Bath and Wells.

3. The like quiet disposition of Gilbert Bourn, bishop of Bath and Wells, secured Somersetshire. Indeed he owed his life, under God, to the protection of a protestant; for Mr. Bradford, at Paul's Cross, saved him from a dagger thrown at him in a tumult; and this, perchance, made him the more tender to protestants' lives [h]. Yet, in the register

protestants took part; the suppression of which attempt, as it was the primary cause why many fled to Germany, so also did it serve for a continual pretext to the council for urging the clergy to the extirpation of heresy]

[e] Fox, 2052. [III. 888, 1019]

[f] Holinshed, p. 1309.

[g] [Of him Dr. Heylyn says, that he was "well born and "well befriended, by means "whereof he recovered some "lands into his see which had "been alienated from it by his "predecessor, (Veysey;) and, "amongst others, the rich and "goodly manors of Crediton "or Kirton in the county of "Devon, in former times the "episcopal seat of the bishop "of Exeter, though afterwards "again dismembered from it "in the time of queen Eliza-"beth, by bishop Cotton" Ref. 228]

[h] [Fox, III. 17. Strype's

of his church, we meet with one Richard Lush condemned by him [i], though his execution doth not appear; and yet it is probable that this poor Isaac, thus bound to the altar, was afterward sacrificed, except some intervening angel stayed the stroke of the sword. A.D. 1555. 3 Mary.

4. So also the diocese of Bristol, made up of Dorsetshire and part of Gloucestershire, enjoyed much quietness. John Holyman the bishop did not, for aught I can find, profane himself with any barbarous cruelty; but Mr. Dalby, his chancellor, (as an active lieutenant to a dull captain,) sent three (namely, Richard Sharpe, Thomas Benyon, and Thomas Hale) to the stake at Bristol for the testimony of the truth [k]. This Dalby, knowing himself to be low in parts and learning, and despairing otherwise to appear in the world, thought the only way to recommend himself to men's notice was to do it by his cruelty. In the diocese of Bristol.

5. More sparks of persecution flew into the diocese of Salisbury, in Wiltshire and Berkshire, under John Capon, the bishop, and Dr. Jeffrey, his chancellor; for this Doeg was worse than Saul himself. At Newbury he sent three martyrs to heaven in the same chariot of fire, Julius Palmer, John Gwin, and Thomas Askin [l]. Yea, this was but a light flourish in respect of that great blow he intended, had not Heaven prevented him, and many others of his bloody crew, by the death of queen Mary; In the diocese of Salisbury.

Mem. III. 21. Unfortunately for Fuller's hypothesis, various protestant ministers took active parts in this disgraceful tumult; for which one was afterwards set in the pillory. See Strype, ib.]

[i] Fox, p. 2004. [III. 826.]

[k] Fox, p. 2052. [III. 892.]

[l] Fox, p. 1940. [III 733.]

A.D. 1555. 3 Mary. whereby, to use David's phrase, *God smote them on the cheek-bone, and brake the teeth of the ungodly* [m].

In the diocese of Winchester

6. In the diocese of Winchester, consisting of Hantshire and Surrey, I find no great impression from Stephen Gardiner, the bishop, and much marvel thereat [n]. It may be this politician, who managed his malice with cunning, spared his own diocese, fox-like preying farthest from his own den. Indeed

[m] Psalm iii. 7.

[n] [This prelate seems scarcely to have received a fair measure of equity; he was hardly (not to say unfairly) treated in the preceding reign, and has missed the commendation for his conduct during queen Mary's reign to which he is justly entitled. Although the duke of Northumberland had proved his bitterest enemy, yet Gardiner had so much compassion for him as not only to visit this unhappy man in the Tower, but also to use his influence with the queen, that had it not been for the emperor, he would have gained her consent for the duke's life. (Burnet, III. 222.) In this very year, 1555, we find Roger Ascham, with whom in religious opinions Gardiner could certainly not coincide, thus writing of this prelate in a letter to another equally zealous protestant, John Sturmius: "Stephanus Episcopus Win- "toniensis summus Angl' Can- "cellarius summa humanitate "atque favore me complexus "est; ut paratior fuerit Pa- "gettusne in me commendando, "an Wintoniensis in me tuendo "atque ornando facile dijudi- "care non queam. *Non defue-* "*runt qui cursum benevolentiæ* "*illius in me conati sunt impe-* "*dire, religionis causa, sed* "*nihil profuerunt.* Itaque plu- "rimum debeo Wintoniensis "humanitati, et plurimum de- "beo. *Neque ego solus sed* "*multi etiam alii experti sunt* "*illius humanitatem.*" Epist. p. 51, ed Oxon, 1703. Hadrian Junius, another protestant, physician to Edward VI., is no less warm in the bishop's commendation, (Epist. p. 12,) and finally, when some thoughts were entertained at the commencement of this reign of detaining Peter Martyr, the bishop's fierce opponent, not only was Gardiner's interest exerted in his favour, (the bishop being at that time lord chancellor,) but he was also liberally furnished by the bishop's bounty with all things necessary for his departure. Wood's Antiq Univ. Oxon p. 275, fol. ed. This was surely no slight virtue in Gardiner, so much more deserving of commendation, especially considering the unjust treatment with which he had been visited in the preceding reign.]

he would often stay behind the traverse, and send Bonner upon the stage (free enough of himself, without spurring, to do mischief) to act what he had contrived. Yea, I may say of Gardiner that he had an head, if not an hand, in the death of every eminent protestant, plotting, though not acting, their destruction; and, being lord chancellor of England, he counted it his honour to fly at stout game indeed, contriving the death of the lady Elizabeth, and using to say, that it was vain to strike at the branches whilst the root of all heretics doth remain. And this good lady was appointed for the slaughter, and brought to the shambles, when the seasonable death of this butcher saved the sheep alive [o].

A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

7. However, as bloody as he was, for mine own part I have particular gratitude to pay to the memory of this Stephen Gardiner, and here I solemnly tender the same: it is on the account of Mrs. Clarke, my great grandmother by my mother's side, whose husband rented Farnham Castle, a place whither bishop Gardiner retired, in Surrey, as belonging to his see. This bishop, sensible of the consumptionous state of his body, and finding physic out of the kitchen more beneficial for him than that out of the

The author's gratitude to Stephen Gardiner.

[o] [The bishop died Nov. 12, 1555. Stow, 627. The calumny against Gardiner, mentioned in the text, is sufficiently refuted by the queen's own declaration, as Burnet observes, Ref. III. 227. Nay, more, it is certain from various authentic papers (Tytler, II. 339) that so far from plotting the death of the princess, Gardiner, at the hazard of the queen's displeasure, interposed frequently in her behalf. See Notes to Dodd, II. 96. And yet, had he been over-watchful, he would not have exceeded his duty, since it is very well known that Elizabeth had been a party to Wyat's, and subsequently to Dudley's treason. In excuse for Fuller, it may be stated that he trusted to the assertions of that dishonest historian Fox.]

A. D. 1555. 3 Mary. apothecary's shop, and special comfort from the cordials she provided him, did not only himself connive at her heresy, as he termed it, but also protected her during his life from the fury of others. Some will say this his courtesy to her was founded on his kindness to himself; but, however, I am so far from detaining thanks from any deserving on just cause, that I am ready to pay them where they are but pretended due on any colour.

In the diocese of Chichester. 8. Sussex smarted more than all the forenamed counties together, under John Christopherson, bishop of Chichester. This man was well learned, and had turned Eusebius his Ecclesiastical History into Latin, with all the persecutions of the primitive Christians. What he translated in his youth he practised in his age, turning tyrant himself; and scarce was he warm in his bishopric, when he fell a burning the poor martyrs: ten in one fire at Lewes [p], and seventeen others at several times in sundry places.

In the diocese of Canterbury. 9. In the diocese of Canterbury cardinal Pole appeared not personally active in the prosecution of any to death. Whilst others impute this to his stateliness, not stooping to so small matters, we more charitably ascribe it to his favouring of the protestant party, having formerly lost the papacy under that imputation. But seeing it is a true maxim, which an heathen man layeth down, "It is enough "for a private man that he himself do no wrong, "but a public person must provide that those under "him do no injury to others," I see not how the cardinal can be excused from the guilt of that innocent blood which Thornton his suffragan, and Harps-

[p] Fox, pp. 2003, 2004. [III 799.]

field his archdeacon, shed like water in and about the city of Canterbury. A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

10. The diocese of Rochester, containing the remainder of Kent, was of small extent; but that flock must be very little indeed out of which the ravenous wolf cannot fetch some prey for himself. Morris [Griffin], the bishop, played the tyrant therein, being the first in queen Mary's days that condemned a woman (Margery Polley by name) to be burnt for religion; with many moe, who, at Dartford or Rochester, sealed the truth with their lives. In the diocese of Rochester.

11. Cross we the Thames, to come into Middlesex and Essex, the diocese of London under bishop Bonner, whom all generations shall call bloody [q]. St. Paul mentioneth his fighting *with beasts at Ephesus after the manner of men* [r], which some expound his encountering with people, men for their shape and sex, but beasts for their cruel minds and manners: in the same sense we may say, that lion, tiger, wolf, bear, yea, a whole forest of wild beasts, met in Bonner, killing two hundred in the compass of three years; and as if his cruelty had made him metropolitan of all England, he stood not on distinction of dioceses, but martyred all, wheresoever he met them. Thus Mr. Philpot belonged to Gardiner's jurisdiction, and often pleaded in vain that Bonner was none of his ordinary; yet Bonner (or- In the diocese of London, under Bonner.

[q] [It is some mitigation in Bonner's cruelty, when it is remembered how continually and sharply he was urged by letters from the council to proceed against heretics. See Burnet, III. 228, 242, 244, 256, 258. And again, in the last year of queen Mary's reign, we find a letter addressed by the council to Bonner, urging him to greater measures of severity. Burnet, ib. 263. Lay interference was just as injurious in this as in the preceding reign, only in a different way. See particularly Burnet, III 246]

[r] 1 Cor. xv. 32.

A. D. 1555. 3 Mary. dinary or extraordinary) dispatched him, who cared not whence men came, but only whither he sent them. No sex, quality, or age escaped him, whose fury reached from John Fetty, (a lad of eight years old, by him scourged to death,) even unto Hugh Laverock, a cripple, sixty-eight years old, whom he caused to be burnt.

Under Dr. Story. 12. Dr. Story, dean of Paul's [s], must not be forgotten, being under Bonner a most cruel persecutor. Was not this false heraldry, cruelty on cruelty? Well, so it seemed good to Divine Providence, as conducing most to the peace of the church, that one place rather than two should be troubled with such damnable tyrants. Bonner persecuted by wholesale, Story by retail; the former enjoined, the latter attended the execution; what Bonner bade, Story beheld to be performed; yea, sometimes he made cruel additions of his own invention, as when he caused a fagot to be tossed in the face of Mr. Denley the martyr, when he was ready to be burnt [t]. How he was rewarded afterwards for his cruelty, by God's blessing, in due place [u].

[s] [Dr. Story was not dean of St. Paul's, but Feckenham, afterwards abbot of Westminster. See note in bishop Godwin's Catalogue, p. 570.]

[t] [Fox, Acts, &c. III. 390.]

[u] [Holinshed (p. 1180) says that Dr. Story spoke to this effect in his speech (1 Eliz.) in parliament: "That whereas "he was noted commonly "abroad, and much complained of to have been a "great doer and setter forth "of such religion, orders, and "proceedings as of his late sovereign that dead is (queen "Mary) were set forth in this "realm, he denied nothing the "same; protesting moreover "that he had done nothing "therein but that both his "conscience did lead him thereunto, and also his commission did as well then command him, as now also doth "discharge him for the same; "being no less ready now also "to do the like, and more, in "case he by this queen were "authorized likewise and commanded thereunto." He pro-

13. Under the same torrid zone of persecution, but a little more temperate, lay Norfolk and Suffolk, in the diocese of Norwich. Bishop Hopton was unmerciful in his visitations; but Downing, the chancellor, played the devil himself, enough to make wood dear in those parts, so many did he consume

A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

In the diocese of Norwich.

ceeded to say, that he was not sorry for what he had done, but rather that he had not done more, and wished that he had struck at the root instead of the branches, &c. This was interpreted to mean the queen.

That Story had been guilty of cruelty in his zeal for popery can scarcely be doubted; he was a man of a hasty and very warm temper, and a most earnest and passionate defender of what he called the catholic faith; yet, if we may credit his defence of himself at his execution, instead of exceeding his commission under queen Mary, he endeavoured to mitigate its severity. He asserts that, being a layman, he had no power to contravene the sentence pronounced by the bishop; that on several occasions, when some of the prisoners were sent to him, he kept them in his house, "with "such fare," he says, "as I "had provided for myself and "my family, at mine own cost "and charge; and to prove "that I am not so cruel as I "am reported to be, let this "one tale suffice: There were "at one time twenty-eight "condemned to the fire, and I "moved the dean of Paul's to "tender and pity their estate, "which after was abbot of "Westminster, a very pitiful-"minded man; I think the "most part of you know him; "it is M. Fecknam; and we "went up and persuaded with "them, and we found them "very tractable; and Mr. Feck-"nam and I laboured to the "lord cardinal Pole, shewing "that they were '*nescientes* "*quid fecerunt.*' The cardinal "and we did sue together to "the queen, and laid both the "swords together, and so we "did obtain pardon for them "all, saving an old woman that "dwelt about Paul's church-"yard: she would not convert, "and therefore she was burned. "Yea, and it was my procure-"ment that there should be no "more burnt in London; for "I saw well that it would not "prevail, and therefore we sent "them into odd corners into "the country. Wherefore I "pray you name me not cruel; "I would be loth to have any "such slander to run on me." This speech is in Somers' Tracts, I. 485; and although published in a life of him written by a zealous protestant, contains the best defence of his conduct, and is exceedingly worth perusal.]

A.D 1555. 3 Mary. to ashes, whose several examinations are at large set down in the Book of Martyrs.

In the diocese of Ely

14. Ely diocese, Cambridgeshire, succeeds, whose bishop, Dr. Thirlby, was a learned, discreet, and moderate man; witness his meek behaviour at the degrading of archbishop Cranmer, shedding plentiful tears thereat. But can water and fire, weeping and burning, come from the same person? Surely so it did here; for afterwards he singled out John Hullier, (as the representative for all the protestants in his diocese,) whom he caused to be burnt at Cambridge. The shedding his blood was as giving earnest of his zeal in the popish cause, though afterward he made no farther payment in this kind; justly offending the protestants for doing so much, yet scarcely pleasing the papists because he did no more. As for the execution of William Woolsey and Robert Pigot in this diocese, Thirlby was no whit interested therein; but the guilt thereof must be shared betwixt Dr. Fuller, the chancellor, and other commissioners.

In the diocese of Peterborough.

15. In Peterborough diocese, consisting of Northamptonshire and Rutland, I find but one (John Kurde, a shoemaker) burnt at Northampton; but this his death I cannot charge on the account of David Pool, the bishop, as consenting thereunto, because William Binsley, bachelor of law and chancellor of Peterborough, was only his active prosecutor.

In the diocese of Lincoln

16. Lincoln diocese is next, the largest of the whole kingdom, containing Lincoln, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Buckingham, besides parts of Hertford and Warwick shires. Now, according to the rules of proportion, who could expect otherwise but the moe men the moe martyrs, the greater the

province the more grievous the persecution? But it fell out the clean contrary, finding but one martyr in all that space of ground, a merchant's servant, burnt at Leicester [x]. A.D. 1555. 3 Mary.

Frivolous is their reason who impute this to the disposition of White, bishop of this diocese the first half of queen Mary's reign, whom they behold as poetically given, of more fancy than fury, which vented itself in verses; more pleased to lash the heretics with a satire, than suck their blood by destructive courses. As little credit is to be given to their conceit who ascribe the following tranquillity of this diocese to bishop Watson, White's successor therein; because he was a man so buried in the speculations of school-divinity, that it unactived him to be practical in persecution. I say again, both these reasons amount not to any partial cause of the peace of this diocese; for we know full well that after the coming in of queen Elizabeth, this White and this Watson discovered keenness and fierceness of spirit against her, more than any other bishops; insomuch that they threatened her with an excommunication. I conceive the true cause was this: Lincoln diocese, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, had borne the heat of the day, when Buckinghamshire alone (as we have formerly observed [y]) afforded more martyrs than all England beside. God therefore thought it fit that other dioceses should now take their turns: that this of Lincoln, harraged out before, should now lie fallow; whilst other countries, like rest-ground, should suffer persecution, whereon indeed the *ploughers ploughed, and made long furrows.*

[x] Fox, vol III. p. 706

[y] Lib. 4, cent xvi par. 2

A.D. 1555. 3 Mary.

17. The dioceses of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester, under their respective bishops, Robert King, James Brook, Robert Parfew, and Richard Pates, enjoyed much quiet; it being true of them, what is said of Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, after the conversion of Paul: *Then had the churches rest throughout all those places*[z]. This principally flowed from God's gracious goodness, who would not have all places at once equally embroiled. It is not fit that all the rooms in the house should only be chimney, furnace, or oven, but that it should also afford some other places for quiet repose. And yet I wonder much that we find no fire, and very little smoke, in Gloucestershire; seeing Brook, the bishop thereof, is charactered to be "a great persecutor of protest-"ants[a]." Indeed his fury spent itself most abroad; who, either being or accounting himself a great scholar, stickled much at Oxford against archbishop Cranmer, pretending himself to be a commissioner immediately delegate from the pope, and venting his malice against that good prelate in two orations, only remarkable for their length and bitterness.

Quiet in four dioceses.

In the diocese of Co-

18. Ralph Baynes was bishop of Coventry and

[z] Acts ix. 31

[a] Isaacson's Chronology, p. 477. [Merely from the fashion which people then had and still have of affixing the epithets of cruel persecutor to the Roman catholic prelates, without carefully examining the foundation of such charges. The fact of no persecution being permitted in Gloucestershire ought to have been a sufficient proof; facts surely against the bare assertion of a compiler of no value or authority, especially when those facts are on the side of charity. Wood's character of this prelate is more in conformity with all that is authentically preserved respecting him: "Quod ad Brochium attinet, vir erat eruditione haud vulgari, eloquentia minime contemnenda, comitate vero morumque facilitate prorsus amplectenda inque pretio habenda." Hist. Univ. p. 278.]

Lichfield, late professor of Hebrew in Paris, who also wrote a Comment on the Proverbs [b], and dedicated it to Francis the first, king of France. Sure I am he forgat a passage of Solomon's therein, (Prov. xiv. 21,) *But he that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he;* this Baines proving a bloody persecutor of God's poor servants in his jurisdiction. The gentle birth and breeding of Mrs. Joyce Lewes was not too high for him to reach at; and the poor condition of Joan Wast, a blind woman in Derby, was not too low for him to stoop to, condemning them both to death, with many other faithful witnesses of the truth. A. D 1555. 3 Mary. Prentry and Lichfield.

19. The archbishopric of York enjoyed much peace and tranquillity under Dr. Nicholas Heath, a meek and conscientious man [c]. It is enough to intimate his moderate temper, equal and disengaged from violent extremities, that *primo Elizabethæ* in the disputation between the papists and protestants, he was chosen by the privy council one of the moderators. And as he shewed mercy in prosperity, he found it in adversity, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, though deposed from his dignity, reposed in a peaceable quietness; so that his impotent age might rather seem seasonably eased of troublesome greatness, than abridged of any requisites for his comfortable supportation. In the diocese of York.

20. Dr. Cotes was bishop of Chester, who washed his hands in the blood of Mr. George March, burnt at Chester; at whose execution I understand not the addition of a pitched barrel placed above his In the diocese of Chester.

[b] Pitz, In vita, p. 759.

[c] [He was made lord chancellor on the death of bishop Gardiner. Stow, 627.]

A. D. 1555. 3 Mary. head, certainly to inflame the flame, but whether out of kindness to hasten his death, or cruelty to increase his pain, I dare not decide. Sure I am Cotes died soon after, and Cuthbert Scot succeeded in his bishopric, one very busy about the burning of Bucer's body in Cambridge, but otherwise I find no persecution raised by him in his own diocese.

Peace in the bishopric of Durham.

21. The bishopric of Durham had halcyon days of ease and quiet, under God and good Cuthbert Tunstall, the bishop thereof, a learned man, of a sweet disposition, rather devout to follow his own than cruel to persecute the conscience of others; indeed, he being present in London at the examination of divers martyrs, would sometimes fly out in base and unbeseeming language, as when he called bishop Hooper beast for being married; yet his passion herein may the rather be pardoned, because politicly presumed, to bark the more, that he might bite the less, as appeared by his courteous carriage in his own diocese; for I meet with the marginal note in Mr. Fox [d], which indeed justly deserved even in the fairest letters to be inserted in the body of his book: "Note, that bishop Tunstall, in queen Mary's "time, was no great bloody persecutor; for master "Russel, a preacher, was before him, and Dr. Himner, "his chancellor, would have had him examined more "particularly. The bishop stayed him, saying, 'Hi-"therto we have had a good report among our neigh-"bours; I pray you bring not this man's blood upon "my head.'" But more of this Cuthbert Tunstall hereafter.

And of Carlisle.

22. The diocese also of Carlisle was not molested

[d] Vol. III. p. 958.

with any great troubles under Owen Oglethorp, the bishop thereof, one qualified with a moderate temper. It argueth no less, because afterward he crowned queen Elizabeth, an office which all other bishops then stiffly denied to perform. But, to speak plain English, though the peaceableness of these northern bishoprics proceeded partly from the mildness of those that sat in the episcopal chairs thereof, yet it must be remembered that even want of matter for persecution to work on conduced much to the peace of those places; the beams of the gospel being neither so bright nor so hot in these parts, where ignorance and superstition generally prevailed. A.D. 1555. 3 Mary.

23. The same may be said of all Wales, where, casting over our eye, we discover no considerable persecution under the bishops of Asaph and Bangor; but as for the bishop of Llandaff[e], his proceedings against good Rawlins White (whom he caused to be burnt at Cardiff) was remarkable, as standing alone, without precedent; for he caused his chaplain to say a mass (the first, I believe, that found out, and last that used that way) for the conversion of the said Rawlins, though the same proved ineffectual. The singularity of the bishop of Llandaff.

24. But Dr. Morgan, bishop of St. David's, is paramount for his cruelty, passing the sentence of condemnation on Robert Farrar, his immediate predecessor, whom he caused to be burnt at Caermarthen. We know whose counsel it was, *This is the heir, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*[f]; and Morgan never thought himself in quiet possession of his bishopric whilst Farrar was as yet The cruelty of the bishop of Bangor.

[e] [Dr. Kitchin]

[f] Luke xx. 14.

A. D. 1555. 3 Mary. in possession of his life. However, herein Morgan out-Bonnered even Bonner himself, who (though not out of pity, of policy) did not himself condemn Ridley his predecessor, but procured him to be sent to Oxford, to be sentenced by others; whereas this bishop himself pronounced the sentence on Farrar, an act which no good man could, and no wise man would have done. Thus have we briefly surveyed all the dioceses in England, the universities of Cambridge and Oxford only excepted, which, being peculiars, and exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, are reserved for a particular description, by God's blessing, at the end of this book. Nor do we forget (though acted out of the continent of England) that cruel murder in the isle of Guernsey, where the infant bursting out of the mother's womb (the cruel fire being so merciful as to be the midwife, to separate and tender the innocent babe from the condemned mother, to the charity of the beholders) was first taken out of the fire, and then cast in again [f], and burnt with the mother thereof [g].

The first and last of the martyrs.

25. In all this army of martyrs, Mr. John Rogers, burnt in Smithfield February the 4th, 1555, led the van; and five martyrs burnt at Canterbury, November the 10th, 1558, (namely, John Cornford, Christopher Browne, John Herst, John Snoth, and Katharine Knight,) brought up the rear, according to their own prayer (not to say prophecy) at the stake, that they might be the last, as by God's mercy it so proved. All these were executed in the four last years of queen Mary's reign, none suffering in the

[f] Fox, vol. III. p. 747.

[g] [Of the twenty-six dioceses here mentioned by Fuller, nine only were exposed to persecution, according to our author's statement.]

first year thereof; in which time the butchers under her did only prepare their shambles for slaughter, whet their knives, and make ready their instruments of cruelty. Comparisons, I know, are odious, and the more when made betwixt persons of eminency; however, to such as peruse the whole story, these proportions will appear true: Of all the Marian martyrs, Mr. Philpot was the best born gentleman; bishop Ridley the profoundest scholar; Mr. Bradford the holiest and devoutest man; archbishop Cranmer of the mildest and meekest temper; bishop Hooper of the sternest and austerest nature; Dr. Taylor had the merriest and pleasantest wit; Mr. Latimer had the plainest and simplest heart; &c. Oh the variety of these several instruments! Oh their joint harmony in a consort to God's glory! A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

26. It is observable that the sacrament of the altar was the main touchstone to discover the poor protestants. Many, indeed, are the differences betwixt us and the Romish church, but on this point the examiners pinched most; haply because, in other controversies, protestants (hunted after by those bloodhounds) might take covert under some tolerable distinction, and thereby evade the danger; whereas this point of the real, corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, the selfsame body that was crucified, was such downright falsehood, it was incapable of any palliation, and was the compendious way to discover those of the contrary opinion. This neck-question, as I may term it, the most dull and duncical commissioner was able to ask; and, thanks be to God, the silliest protestant soul brought before them was able to answer, first by denying it, then by dying in the defence of his denial. The sacrament of the altar the greatest snare to protestants

A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

Cruelty of papists in pretorturing martyrs.

27. Remarkable was their cruelty in pretorturing of many, whom afterwards they put to death; herein akin in their proceedings to Pilate, first scourging, then crucifying Christ. By what law did Edmund Tyrrell first burn the hand of Rose Allen, and her body afterwards? Even by the same that Bonner first burnt the hand of Thomas Tomkins, and then commanded him to be dispatched out of the way; by the same law that Cuthbert Simpson was first cruelly racked, and then burnt: even by the law of their own might and malice, not having otherwise any rag of legality to cover the shame of their cruelty. Nature was merciful in appointing that all men should *once die*[h]; whereas, had these tyrants had the ordering thereof, they would have made divers to have died sundry times: yea, such was their cruelty, that after once they had *eat up*[i] God's servants, if possible, they would have chewed the cud upon them the second time.

Some commissioners of and by themselves courteous.

28. Some commissioners privately were courteous to the martyrs, who notwithstanding publicly concurred to their condemnation. It is Luther's observation, that in scripture *son of man* is always taken in a good sense, but *sons of men* generally in the worst acception. Sure I am, take some of these men sole and single by themselves, they were well-natured, pitiful, and compassionate; but when in conjunction with others, they became (at least by consenting) as cruel as the rest. What favour did Dr. Fuller, chancellor of Ely, offer William Woolsey and Robert Piggot, when alone! yet, when in com-

[h] Heb ix. 27. [i] Psalm xiv. 4.

plication with other commissioners, pronounced the sentence of condemnation upon them [k]. A. D 1555. 3 Mary.

29. Pass we now from the judicial to the ministerial persecutors: sheriffs, under-sheriffs, bailiffs, promoters, summoners, &c. The locusts *had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails* [l]. So here in officers, the baser, the bloodier; the meaner, the more malicious; though, by particular exception, some happened to be more merciful than others. Of the twin-sheriffs in London, (Mr. Woodroffe and Mr. Chester,) the former, like Esau, had his hands rough and hairy, being rugged and surly to God's servants; whilst Mr. Chester, Jacob-like, had smooth hands, kind and courteous to such as suffered. Thus Amrie, as I take it, the sheriff of Chester, was most cruel to Mr. George Marsh; whilst the sheriff of Staffordshire (pity it is Mr. Fox hath not recorded his name) was afterward persecuted for shewing so much favour to Mrs. Joyce Lewes at her execution, when he said *Amen* to her prayer, desiring God to deliver this realm from papistry [m]. Ministerial persecutors.

30. One prison may, comparatively, be a paradise in respect of another, and generally it is the gaoler puts the difference betwixt them. How passionately did poor Jeremy plead, *Cause me not to return to the* Difference in prisons.

[k] [And this is true of the proceeding and temper of the clergy generally When men were brought before them in their official capacity, they could not shew mercy if they would. Even Bonner himself was constantly urged to greater measures of severity by the council, which at least shews that naturally he was not disposed to cruelty The state was not more friendly to the church in Romish than in protestant times.]

[l] Rev. ix. 10.

[m] Mr. Fox, vol. III. p. 839.

A. D. 1555 3 Mary. *house of Jonathan the scribe, lest I die there*[n]; and therefore he took it for a special favour to be sent to the court of the prison. How nasty a place was the dungeon of Malchiah, into which Jeremiah was afterward cast[o], till Ebed-melech the blackamore drew him out thence. Now, amongst the fruitful generation of gaols in London, there were, though never a better, some less bad amongst them. I take the Marshalsea to be, in those times, the best for usage of prisoners; but O the misery of God's poor saints in Newgate, under Alexander the gaoler! more cruel than his namesake the coppersmith was to St. Paul; in Lollard's Tower, the Clink, and Bonner's coal-house, a place which minded them of the manner of their death, first kept amongst coals before they were burnt to ashes.

Dr. Gefferey his illegal proceedings

31. It is more than suspicious that many of these silly souls were hurried to the stake even against those laws which then stood in force in the realm, before the writ *de hæretico comburendo* was issued out against them[p]; for what the Jews said to Pilate, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death*[q], the ecclesiastical censures may say to the secular power in England: "We have no power of life or "limb, but the inflicting punishments on both must "be devolved to the civil magistrate." Yet Dr. Gefferey, chancellor of Salisbury, stood not on such legal niceties, but hastened them to the stake[r], more

[n] Jer xxxvii. 20.

[o] Jer. xxxviii. 6.

[p] [This is certainly a great mistake; for when the laws of Edward VI. were repealed, the canon here came into force as before; and especially the statute of the Six Articles, passed in the reign of Henry VIII.]

[q] John xviii. 31.

[r] Fox, vol. III. p. 896.

minding the end to which, than the justice of the proceedings whereby, he sent them thither. A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

32. All who met at last in final constancy manifested not equal intermediate cheerfulness. Some were more stout, bold, and resolute; others more faint, fearful, and timorous. Of the latter was archbishop Cranmer, who first subscribed a recantation, but afterwards recanted his subscription, and valiantly burnt at the stake. Thus he that stumbleth, and doth not fall down, gaineth ground thereby, as this good man's slip mended his pace to his martyrdom. It is also observable that married people, the parents of many children, suffered death with most alacrity. Mr. Rogers and Dr. Taylor may be the instances thereof. The former of these, if consulting with flesh and blood, had eleven strong reasons to favour himself; I mean a wife and ten children; all which abated not his resolution. All the martyrs not alike cheerful.

33. Besides these who were put to death, some scores (not to say hundreds) died, or rather were killed with stench, starving, and strait usage in prison. I am not satisfied in what distance properly to place these persons; some perchance will account it too high to rank them amongst martyrs, and surely I conceive it too low to esteem them but bare confessors. The best is, the heraldry of Heaven knows how to marshal them in the place of dignity due unto them, where, long since, they have received the reward of their patience. Of those who died in prison.

34. Miraculous was God's providence in protecting many which were condemned to the stake. It is part of the praise of his power, *to hear the groaning of the prisoner, to loose those that are appointed* Queen Mary's death life to many.

A.D 1555. 3 Mary. *to death*[s]. In David's expression, *there was but a step between them and death*[t]; which step also had been stepped, had not one instantly stepped aside; I mean the seasonable death of queen Mary. She, melancholic in mind, unhealthful in body, little feared of her foreign foes, less beloved by her native subjects, not over-dear to her own husband, unsuccessful in her treaties for peace, and unfortunate in her undertakings for war, having deceived the gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk by her false promises, was deceived herself by a false conception: and having consumed so many of God's saints by fire, died herself by water, an hydropical tympany.

Protestants' mercy for papists' malice.

35. Observable was the mercy of the protestants to these persecutors, after the power was delivered into their hands, under the reign of queen Elizabeth; by whom none of the aforesaid tyrants were prosecuted or molested for any act of cruelty done by them in the days of queen Mary; nor suffered they in the least degree on their former account, except they ran on a new score of contempt against the queen and state, as such bishops who, in the first of her reign, refused the oath of supremacy. Otherwise, all such as conformed to her government were not only permitted to enjoy their old, but admitted to new, preferment: witness Mr. Binsley, chancellor of Peterborough, who condemned John Kurde, of Northampton, yet in queen Elizabeth's days had the archdeaconry of Peterborough conferred upon him. Thus, while papists heap fagots on protestants, protestants, according to Solomon's counsel, *heap*

[s] Psalm cii. 20. [t] 1 Sam. xx 3.

coals on them[u], (courtesies and civilities,) to melt them, if possible, into remorse. A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

36. But, though the protestants shewed much mercy to the papists, their persecutors, yet the God of the protestants manifested much justice in their woful and wretched deaths. I confess God's best servants sometimes have had sad and sudden ends: witness good Eli himself, who fell down and brake his neck[x]. I confess likewise that some wicked men, who have lived like lions, have died (to use the common country phrase) like lambs; or, to use the expression of the psalmist, *they have no bands in their death*[y], so fairly and quietly do they expire. It is not good, therefore, to be over-tampering in this particular, (our Saviour himself retrenching the censoriousness of the Jews for falling so heavy on the memories of those on whom the tower of Siloe fell[z],) and infallibly to infer from their fatal death their final damnation. However, when a remarkable death suddenly follows a notorious wicked life, even such passengers as are posting in the speed of their private affairs are bound to make a stand, and solemnly to observe the justice of God's proceedings therein; the rather because Bellarmine, our adversary, affirmeth that *infelix exitus eorum qui ecclesiam oppugnant*[a], the unhappy end of the adversaries thereof is one of the marks of the true church. These cautions premised, take a few of many signal fatalities of these wicked persecutors. God's judgments must warily be dealt with.

37. Morgan, bishop of St. David's, who sentenced Farrar, his predecessor, not long after was stricken God's visible hand on many of the persecutors.

[u] Prov. xxv. 22
[x] 1 Sam. iv. 18.
[y] Psalm lxxiii. 4.
[z] Luke xiii. 5
[a] De Notis Ecclesiæ, lib. iv. c. 17. [Bellarm Op. II. p. 273, ed. Ingolst. 1601.]

A. D. 1555. 3 Mary. in so strange a sort, that his meat would rise up, sometimes out of his mouth, sometimes out of his nose, (most horrible to behold, but more terrible to endure,) and so continued till his death. Judge Morgan, who condemned the lady Jane, soon after ran mad, and so died, having always in his mouth, "Lady Jane, lady Jane!" Dunning, the bloody chancellor of Norwich, died suddenly, taken, as some say, sitting in his chair. Berry, the remorseless commissary in Norfolk, fell down suddenly to the ground with a heavy groan, and never stirred after. Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, looking upon his men playing at bowls, was upon a sudden struck with a palsy, had thence to his death-bed, and, being advised by some to remember God, "Yea, so I do," saith he, "and my lord cardinal too." Dr. Geffery, the bloody chancellor of Salisbury, died suddenly on a Saturday, the day before he had appointed moe than ninety persons to be examined by inquisition. Mr. Woodroffe, that cruel sheriff of London, being but a week out of his office, was so stricken by the hand of God, that for seven years' space, till his dying day, he was not able to move himself in his bed. Burton, the cruel baily of Crowland, was poisoned to death with the stink of a crow's dung muting on his face. What shall I speak of Dale, the promoter, eaten up with lice? Alexander, the keeper of Newgate, consumed with offensive rottenness? Robert Balding, smitten with lightning at the taking of William Seaman? Clarke, who hanged himself in the Tower, with many moe [a]?

[a] [Very little trust can be placed on these statements, which are entirely borrowed from Fox; some are grossly false.]

So that we may conclude with the prophecy of Moses, *Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people, for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful unto his land, and to his people* [b]. A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

38. And now, to take our leaves of those martyrs, what remains but, 1, That we glorify God, in and for their patience, *who had given such power unto men* [c]; 2, That we praise God that true doctrine, at this day, may be professed at an easier rate than in that age? In fairs and markets, for the most part, commodities are sold dearest in the morning, which towards evening may be bought at a lower price. Sure I am they paid most for the protestant religion at the dawning of the day from popery, (life or limb was the lowest price thereof,) which since may be purchased at a cheaper pennyworth. 3, That we embrace and defend that doctrine, which they sealed with their lives; and, as occasion shall be offered, to vindicate and assert their memories from such scandalous tongues and pens as have or shall traduce them. What use to be made of the martyrs' sufferings.

39. It is inconsistent with our history here to enter the lists with that railing book which Parsons, the Jesuit, hath made against those good martyrs; only be it remembered that his cavil-general is chiefly at their calling, because they were most mechanics, weavers, shoemakers, &c.: an exception lying as well against just Joseph, a carpenter; hospital Simon, a tanner; zealous Aquila and Priscilla, tent-makers; attentive Lydia, a purple-seller. And is it not injurious to infer their piety to be less because their painfulness was more? If it be farther ob- Parsons his cavil against the martyrs' calling answered.

[b] Deut. xxxii 43. [c] Matt. ix. 8.

A.D. 1555. 3 Mary. jected that it is improbable that these silly souls should be more illuminated with knowledge than the great doctors of the Romish church, know that Christ's birth was revealed to the shepherds in their calling, *watching their flocks by night*[d], and concealed from the priests and Pharisees, the pretended shepherds of Israel; and God might give more light to these industrious artificers than to their idle Masters of Arts.

Poverty and piety oft go together.

40. *Behold your calling*, (saith the apostle,) *how that not many wise men after the flesh*, &c. *But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise*[e]. And always, in time of persecution, the church is like a copse, which hath in it more underwood than oaks: for great men consult with their safety; and whilst the poorer sort, as having little to lose, boldly embrace religion with both arms, the rich too often do only behold it at distance, with a smiling countenance, but dare not adventure to entertain it, except with very great secresy. We conclude all with this observation, that such martyrs as were artificers by their vocation humbly continued in the station wherein Divine Providence had placed them, none presuming (as too many nowadays) to invade the ministerial function, not adventuring to preach, save only that their real sermon of patience at their death.

A catalogue of confessors, with their places of refuge.

41. So much for the first form of Christians in those days, which were martyred; a second sort succeeds, of such who, being confessors for the faith, fled into foreign parts from persecution. This their removal is not only defended from cowardice, but warranted for Christian policy by our Saviour's pre-

[d] Luke ii. 1. [e] 1 Cor. i. 26, 27.

cept, *But when they persecute you in this city, flee into another*[f]. Had all fled, religion had been at a loss for champions to defend her for the present; had none fled, religion might have been at a loss for champions to maintain her for the future. We will give in a particular, both of such eminent persons, and of the places wherein they were entertained; partly that such places may receive their deserved praise for their hospitality to exiles, and partly that our harbouring the banished Dutch (flying, many years after, from the cruelty of duke d'Alva) in London, Norwich, Canterbury, Colchester, and Sandwich, may appear not so much the giving of a free and fair courtesy, as the honest paying of a due debt, and wiping off an old score run on trust by our great-grandfathers. A. D. 1555. 3 Mary

Some seated themselves at

i. Embden, in East Friesland, a staple town of English merchants. I find neither the names nor number of those that harboured here; only it appears that John Scory, late bishop of Chichester, was here superintendent of the English congregation in Embden.

ii. Wesel, then in the dominions, as I take it, of the duke of Cleve, but bordering on the Low Countries, in the possession of the king of Spain. The English meeting here was rather a chapel than a church, or rather a tabernacle than a chapel; because soon set up, and as suddenly taken down again. For they,

[f] Matt. x 23

A.D. 1555. 3 Mary

who formerly had fled so far from Mary, were now loath to live too near to Philip, and, for fear of so potent a neighbour, quickly forsook this place, and disposed themselves elsewhere, in these four following church colonies:

Some seated themselves at

iii. Arrow [g], a small city in Switzerland, on the banks of the river Arrola, belonging to the republic of Berne. The most noted men abiding here were

Thomas Lever,	[Edward] Boys,
Robert Pownall,	[John] Wilford,
Richard Langhorne,	[Thomas] Upchaire.
Thomas Turpin,	

iv. Strasburg, where they found most courteous entertainment. The most eminent English abiding here, as may be collected from their solemn joint subscription to a letter [h], were

James Haddon,	Michael Reinniger,
Edwin Sandys,	Augustine Bradbridge,
Edmund Grindal,	Arthur Saule,
John Huntington,	Thomas Steward,
Guido Eaton,	Christopher Goodman,
John Geoffrey,	Humphrey Alcocson,
John Pedder,	Thomas Lakin,
Thomas Eaton,	Thomas Crafton.

v. Zurich. This was no formed congregation of pastors and people, but rather a flock of shepherds; and therefore the letters unto them carry this style in

[g] Troubles of Frankfort, printed anno 1575, p. 185; reprinted in the Phenix, vol II. 44.

[h] Troubles of Frankfort, p. 23.

their superscription: "To the Students "at Zurich." But behold their names: A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

Robert Horne,	William Cole,
Richard Chambers,	John Parkhurst,
Thomas Lever,	Roger Kelke,
Nicholas Karvile,	Robert Beaumont,
John Mullings,	Laurence Humfrey,
Thomas Spencer,	Henry Cockraft,
Thomas Bentham,	John Price.

vi. Frankfort on the Maine, where they found the state very favourable unto them. And this was the most visible and conspicuous English church beyond the seas, consisting of

Some seated themselves at

John Bale [1],	John Gray,
Edmund Sutton,	Michael Gill,
John Makebraie,	John Samford,
William Whittingham,	John Wood,
Thomas Cole,	Thomas Sorby,
William Williams.	Anthony Cariar,
George Chidley,	Hugh Alford,
William Hammon,	George Whetnall,
Thomas Steward,	Thomas Whetnall,
Thomas Wood,	Edward Sutton,
John Stanton,	John Fox,
William Walton,	Laurence Kent,
Jasper Swyft,	William Keith,
John Geoffrey,	John Hollingham [k].

[1] Troubles of Frankfort, p. 20, 25.

[k] [Almost all these exiles were men of the very lowest church principles and most doubtful orthodoxy. On their return to England, they founded the various sects of dissent which afterwards troubled the church, and proved the greatest disturbers of the order established in this kingdom. As they began abroad with putting aside the Book of Common

A D. 1555 3 Mary.

Here we omit their petty sanctuaries, having (like David) *places where himself and his men were wont to haunt*[l], Deesburgh, Worms, &c., where their straggling numbers amounted not to the constitution of a church. If these congregations be compared together, Embden will be found the richest for substance, (there the merchants which bear the bag;) Wesel the shortest for continuance; Arrow the slenderest for number; Strasburgh of the most quiet temper; Zurich had the greatest scholars; and Frankfort had the largest privileges. Nor let any wonder if some in these catalogues, assigned to one colony, were afterwards found in another; seeing the apostle's expression, *We have here no biding city*[m], hath in it a single truth in time of peace, and at least a double one in time of persecution: men flitting from place to place as they were advised by their own security. Know also, that besides these (the first founders of these several congregations) many additional persons, coming afterwards out of England, joined themselves thereunto.

A brief introduction to the troubles of Frankfort.

42. Come we now to set down the sad troubles of Frankfort, rending these banished exiles asunder into several factions. This I dare say; if the reader takes no more delight in perusing than I in penning so doleful a subject, he will shew little mirth in his face, and feel less joy in his heart. However, we will be somewhat large, and wholly impartial in relating this sorrowful accident; the rather, because the penknives of that age are grown into swords in

Prayer, so, when they returned to England, they would neither use it themselves nor permit others the use of it in quiet.]

[l] 1 Sam. xxx. 31.

[m] Heb. xiii. 14

ours, and their writings laid the foundations of the fightings nowadays. A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

43. The English exiles came first to Frankfort June the 24th, and on the 14th of July following, by the special favour and mediation of Mr. John Glauberg, one of the chief senators of that state, had a church granted unto them; yet so as they were to hold the same in coparceny with the French protestants, they one day, and the English another; and, on Sunday, alternately to choose their hours, as they could best agree amongst themselves. The church was also granted them with this proviso, "That they should not dissent from the French in "doctrine or ceremony, lest thereby they should "minister occasion of offence [n]." On the 29th of the same month, our English, with great joy, entered their new church, and had two sermons preached therein, to their singular comfort; about which time they constituted their church, choosing a minister and deacons for a time, and, out of conformity to the French, abrogated many things formerly used by them in the Church of England; as namely, A church at Frankfort first granted to the English.

i. They concluded that the answering aloud after the minister should not be used.

ii. The litany, surplice, and other ceremonies in service and sacraments, they omitted, both as superfluous and superstitious.

iii. In place of the English confession, they used another, adjudged by them of more effect, and framed according to the state and time [o].

iv. The same ended, the people sung a psalm in metre, in a plain tune.

[n] Troubles of Frankfort, p. 6. [= 46.]
[o] Troubles of Frankfort, p. 7. [= 47.]

A D. 1555. 3 Mary. v. That done, the minister prayed for assistance of God's Spirit, and so proceeded to the sermon.

vi. After sermon, a general prayer for all states, and particularly for England, was devised, which was ended with the Lord's prayer.

vii. Then followed a rehearsal of the articles of belief; which ended, the people sung another psalm, as before.

viii. Lastly, the minister pronounced the blessing, "The peace of God," &c., or the like; and so the people departed.

What is meant by framing their confession according to the state and time I understand not, (must our confessions, as our clothes, follow the fashions of the state and place we live in?) except it be this, that it was made more particularly, not only for sinners, but for exiles, acknowledging their present banishment justly inflicted on them for their offences. The prayer devised after sermon, according to the genuine sense of the word, seems no extemporary prayer then conceived by the minister, but a set form formerly[p] agreed upon by the congregation. Thus have we a true account of their service; conceive it only of such things wherein they differed from the English liturgy, not of such particulars wherein they concurred therewith: the cause, as I conceive, why no mention of reading of psalms and chapters in their congregation. These certainly were not omitted, and probably were inserted betwixt the confession and singing the first psalm.

Other English congregations invited to Frankfort.

44. Thus settled in their church, their next care was to write letters (dated August the 1st) to all the English congregations at Strasburg, Zurich,

[p So in the original, perhaps for 'formally.']

Wesel, Embden, &c., to invite them with all convenient speed to come and join with them at Frankfort. This is the communion of saints, who never account themselves peaceably possessed of any happiness until, if it be in their power, they have also made their fellow-sufferers partakers thereof. However, this their invitation found not any great entertainment amongst the other English church colonies, all delaying and some denying to come; but especially those of Zurich were most refractory, and shewed least inclination to repair to Frankfort. A.D. 1555 3 Mary.

45. This occasioned several reiterated letters from Frankfort, pressing and requiring those of Zurich "deeply to weigh this matter of God's calling, and "the necessity of uniting themselves in one congre-"gation." Let none say that Frankfort might as well come to Zurich as Zurich to Frankfort; because the English-Zurichians, though not in number, in learning and quality equalled, if not exceeded, those of Frankfort; for Frankfort was nearer to England, and more convenient for receiving intelligence thence, and returning it thither. Besides, all Christendom met at Frankfort twice a year, the vernal and autumnal mart; and grant there was more learning at Zurich, there were moe books at Frankfort, with conveniences to advance their studies. But chiefly at Frankfort the congregation enjoyed most ample privileges; and it was conceived it would much conduce to the credit and comfort of the English church, if the dispersed handfuls of their exiles were bound up in one sheaf, united into one congregation, "where they might serve God in purity of faith and "integrity of life, having both doctrine and discipline "free from any mixture of superstition." Those of Zurich quickened by importunity.

A.D. 1555. 3 Mary.

But refuse to communicate with them.

46. Notwithstanding this their importunity, those of Zurich made no other addresses to Frankfort, than by dilatory letters excusing themselves from coming thither. Some saw no absolute necessity that all the English should repair to one place, conceiving it rather safer to adventure themselves in several bottoms, and live in distinct colonies; others were displeased with the imperative style of the letter from Frankfort, *requiring* them to come thither, exceeding the bounds of counsel for convenience, into command for conscience; yea, charging recusancy herein as a sin on the soul of the refusers. They pleaded they were already peaceably seated, and courteously used at Zurich; and to go away before they had the least injury offered them, was to offer an injury to those who so long and lovingly had entertained them. Some insisted on the material point, how they should be maintained at Frankfort, there being more required to their living there than their bare coming thither. But the main was, those of Zurich were resolved no whit to recede from the liturgy used in England under the reign of king Edward the Sixth; and except these of Frankfort would give them assurance that, coming thither, they should have the full and free use thereof, they utterly refused any communion with their congregation [q].

[q] [The letters written by the congregation at Zurich are marked with great good sense and sobriety. On receiving the invitation from Frankfort, they professed in their reply, dated Oct. 23, 1554, that they would, notwithstanding the inconveniences they must suffer in so doing, repair to Frankfort, on condition that they might be allowed to use the service of the English Church, as established in the last years of Edward VI.]

SECT. III.

TO

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL

SIR HENRY WROTH,

KNIGHT.[a]

Sir,

It is my desire fitly to suit my Dedications to my respective patrons, that what is wanting in the worth of the present may be partly supplied in the properness thereof, which made me select this parcel of my History for your patronage. I find sir Thomas Wroth, your great grandfather, of the bedchamber, and a favourite to king Edward the Sixth, who, as I am informed, at his death passed out of the arms of him, his faithful servant, into the embraces of Christ, his dearest Saviour. Soon after sir Thomas found a great change in the English court, but no alteration (as too many did to their shame) in his own conscience, in preservation whereof he was fain to fly beyond the seas. To be

[a] [Arms. Argent, on a bend sable, three lions' heads erased, of the field, crowned or. (Visit. of 1634, p. 219) He was the son of sir Robert Wroth, of Durants, in Middlesex, (p. 228,) and Mary, daughter of Robert earl of Leicester, who composed a romance called Urania. Sir Henry Wroth, who died in 1667, was one of those gentlemen who signed the Royalist Declaration in 1660, (Kennet's Chron. p. 120,) and, after the Restoration, was to have been created one of the knights of the royal oak. His name is also mentioned in the title-page to Fuller's Pisgah Sight.

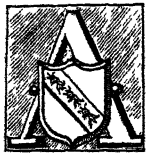
Thomas Wroth, a relation of this sir Henry, was one of the republican commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers, as they were called. See Wood's Athen. II. 257.]

a fugitive is a sin and shame, but an honour to be a voluntary exile for a good cause. Hence it is that I have seen, in your ancient house at Durance, the crest of your arms[b], *with the extraordinary addition of sable wings, somewhat alluding to those of bats, to denote your ancestor's dark and secret flight for his safety. However, God brought him home again on the silver wings of the dove, when peaceably restoring him, in the days of queen Elizabeth, to his large possessions In a word, I may wish you and yours less mediate trouble than he had in the course of his life, but cannot desire you more final happiness in the close thereof.*

T. F.

A.D. 1555. 3 Mary.

Mr. Knox chosen constant minister at Frankfort.



BOUT this time Mr. John Knox came from Geneva, and was chosen by the congregation of Frankfort for their constant minister. Let none account it incongruous, that among so many able and eminent English divines, a Scotchman should be made pastor of the English church; seeing Mr. Knox his reputed merit did naturalize him, though a foreigner, for any protestant congregation. At which time also Mr. [Richard] Chambers[c] and Mr. Edmund Grindal came thither as agents, with a letter from the congregation of Strasburg. This Strasburg, as in the position thereof it is almost seated in the just midway betwixt Zurich and Frankfort, so the English there residing embraced a moderate and middle expedient, betwixt the extremities of the two foresaid congregations. These made a motion, that they might have the "substance and effect of "the Common Prayer Book, though such ceremo- "nies and things which the country could not bear

[b] Viz a lion's head erased.

[c] [Nov. 4, 1554 Concerning this Mr. Chambers, see Strype's Mem. III 142, 146.]

"might well be omitted[d]." Knox and Whittingham asked them what they meant by the "substance of "the book;" and whilst the other wanted commission to dispute the point, the motion for the present came to no perfection. A.D. 1555. 3 Mary.

The Liturgy of England tendered to Mr. Calvin, and his censure thereof.

2. However, it gave occasion that Mr. Knox and others in Frankfort drew up in Latin a platform or description of the Liturgy, as used in England under king Edward, and tendered the same to the judgment of Mr. John Calvin in Geneva, to pass his sentence thereon. This is that Mr. Calvin whose "care of all the churches" is so highly commended by some; and as much censured is he by others, as "boasting himself in another man's line," and meddling with foreign matters which did not belong unto him. Take Mr. Calvin's judgment herein from his own letter, bearing date the 20th of January following: "In the Liturgy of England I see there "are many tolerable foolish things; by these words "I mean, that there is not that purity which were "to be desired. These vices, though they could not "at the first day be amended, yet, seeing there was "no manifest impiety, they were for a season to be "tolerated. Therefore it was lawful to begin of "such rudiments or abcedaries, but so that it be-"hoved the learned, grave, and godly ministers of "Christ to enterprise further, and to set forth some-"thing more filed from rust, and purer." This struck such a stroke, especially in the congregation of Frankfort, that some therein, who formerly partly approved, did afterward wholly dislike, and moe, who formerly disliked, did now detest, the English Liturgy.

[d] Troubles of Frankfort, p. 24. [= 56, 61.]

A. D. 1555. 3 Mary.

Dr. Cox and others arrive at Frankfort.

3. In this case stood matters in Frankfort, when Dr. Richard Cox, with some of his friends out of England, arrived there. This doctor was a man of an high spirit, deep learning, unblamable life, and of great credit amongst his countrymen; for he had been tutor unto Edward the Sixth. And well may the nurse herself be silent, whilst the well batteling of the babe pleads aloud for her care and diligence; as here the piety and pregnancy of his prince-pupil added much to Dr. Cox his deserved reputation. He, with others, coming into the congregation March 13th, discomposed the model of their service; first, answering aloud after the minister; and, on the Sunday following, one of his company, without the consent and knowledge of the congregation, got up into the pulpit, and there read all the litany[e]. Knox, highly offended hereat, in the afternoon, preaching in his course out of Genesis, of Noah's nakedness in his tent, took occasion sharply to tax the authors of this disorder, avowing many things in the English book to be "superstitious, impure, and "imperfect," and that he would never consent they should be received into the congregation.

The senate of Frankfort interpose for Knox.

4. Here I omit many animosities and intermediate bickerings betwixt the opposite parties; especially at one conference, wherein Dr. Cox is charged to come with his inartificial argument *ab authoritate, ego volo habere*[f],—"I will have it so." In fine, Knox his party, finding themselves out-voted by Dr. Cox his new recruits out of England, got one voice on his side which was louder and stronger than all the

[e] Troubles of Frankfort, p. 38. [= 72.]

[f] Troubles of Frankfort, p. 40. [= 74.]

rest: I mean the authority of the senate of Frankfort, interposing on his behalf[g]; and Mr. John Glauberg (principal procurer of their congregation, as is aforesaid) publicly professed, that if the reformed order of the congregation of Frankfort were not therein observed, "as he had opened the church-door unto them, so would he shut it again[h]." A.D 1555. 3 Mary.

5. *The wringing of the nose* (saith wise Agur[i]) *bringeth forth blood; so the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife.* See here the Coxan party, depressed, embrace a strange way to raise themselves, and accuse Knox to the state for no less than high treason against the emperor, in an English book of his, entitled "An Admonition to Christians," first privately preached in Buckinghamshire, and now publicly printed to the world. Eight places therein were laid to his charge; the seven last may well be omitted, the first was so effectual to the purpose, wherein he called the emperor "no less an enemy to Christ "than was Nero." Strange that words spoken some years since, in another land and language, against the emperor, to whom Knox then owed no natural allegiance, (though since a casual and accidental one, by his removal into an imperial city,) should, in this unhappy juncture of time, be urged against him by exiles of his own religion, even to no less than the endangering of his life. But what said Rachel of Leah? *With great wrestlings have I wrestled with* Mr. Knox accused of high treason, and departs from Frankfort.

[g] [Dr. Cox is much commended by bishop Grindal for his prudence in quieting these dissensions, although the author of the Troubles of Frankfort has most unjustly misrepresented Cox's conduct; which is not surprising, as that writer was himself one of these dissentients. See Strype's Grind. p. 12.]

[h] Troubles of Frankfort, p 43. [= 76]

[i] Prov. xxx. 33.

A.D. 1555 3 Mary. *my sister, and I have prevailed*[k]: with great, rather than good, wrestlings. Such, too often, is the badness of good people, that in the heat of passion they account any play to be fair play which tends to the overturning of those with whom they contend. Hereupon the state of Frankfort (as an imperial town, highly concerned to be tender of the emperor's honour) willed Knox to depart the city; who, on the 25th of March, to the great grief of his friends and followers, left the congregation.

Officers chosen in the new model congregation.

6. After the departure, or rather the driving away, of Mr. Knox, Dr. Cox and his adherents clearly carried all, and proceeded to the election of officers in their congregation; but first for a fit title for him that was to take charge of their souls, then for a proper person for that title.

i. Bishop, though first in nomination, was declined as improper[l], because here he had no inspection over any diocese, but only a cure of a congregation; on which very account Mr. Scory, (though formerly bishop of Chichester,) when preacher to the congregation of Embden, took upon him the title of superintendent.

ii. Superintendent was here also waived, as the same in effect, only a bad Latin word, instead of a good Greek.

iii. Minister also was misliked for the principal preacher, (though admitted to signify his assistants,) perchance as a term of too much compliance with the opposite party.

iv. Pastor at last was pitched upon, as freest from

[k] Gen. xxx 8 [l] Troubles of Frankfort, p. 51.[= 79]

exception, most expressive of the office, and least obnoxious to offence. A.D 1556. 4 Mary.

Then was Mr. Whitehead chosen their pastor [m], yet so as two ministers, four elders, and four deacons were joined to assist him. And because this was then as well an university as a congregation of the English, Mr. Horne was chosen reader of the Hebrew, Mr. Mullings of the Greek, and Mr. Traherne was made lecturer of divinity. In this new-modelled congregation I find no office by name assigned unto Dr. Cox, (more honour for him to make all than to be any officer,) who was virtually influent upon all, and most active, though not in the doctrinal, in the prudential part of church-government.

7. As for the oppressed congregation, (so their opposites style themselves,) it was headed by William Whittingham, one, though of less authority, yet of as much affection to the cause as Knox himself. This party continued their dislike of the Liturgy, calling it the "great English book [n]," offended, it seems, with the largeness thereof; and they affirmed (may the report lie on the reporters to avouch it) how "Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, "did present a book of prayer an hundred times "more perfect than the Liturgy used in king Ed-"ward's days; yet the same could not take place, "because he was matched with so wicked a clergy "in convocation with other enemies [o]." Besides this their old grudge against the Common Prayer, they were grieved afresh in this election of new officers in the English congregation, that their old

Whittingham heads the opposite party.

[m] Troubles of Frankfort, p. 52. [= 89.]

[n] Ibid. p. 40. [= 78]

[o] Ibid. p. 43. [= 82]

A.D. 1556. 4 Mary. officers were neither legally continued nor fully discharged, nor friend-like consulted with, nor fairly asked their consent, but no notice at all taken of them. In a word, never arose there a greater *murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration* [p], than here an heart-burning in the Whittinghamian against the other party, for the affront offered to their old officers in this new election.

Arbitration refused by the party of Dr Cox. 8. Here a moderate motion was made that the difference might be compromised and referred to arbitrators, which should be equally chosen on both sides. To this Dr. Cox his party would in nowise consent; whether because those pretended arbiters would be no arbiters, but parties, and widen the wound by dressing of it, or because, being already possessed of the power, they would not divest themselves of the whole to receive but part again from the courtesy of others. However, this party lost much reputation by the refusal; for, in all controversies, that side recusant to submit itself to a fair arbitration contracts the just suspicion either that their cause is faulty, or the managers thereof froward and of a morose disposition. In fine, as when two swarms of bees daily fight in the same hive, the weakest grow so wise as to seek themselves a new habitation, so here Whittingham and his adherents resolved to depart, and to seek their several providences in another place.

The two parties part asunder. 9. But, alas! these two sides had a sad parting blow: the oppressed congregation complained, that instead of their *Vale*, they had a volley of ill words

[p] Acts vi. 1.

discharged at them, amongst which none so mortal to their reputation as the word schismatic, wherewith the Coxians branded them at their departure. Much fending and proving there was betwixt them, whether schismatic was properly appliable to such, who, agreeing in doctrine, dissented only in superfluous ceremonies. In conclusion, nothing was concluded amongst them as to agreement. And now no pity shewed at their departure, no sending of sighs or shedding of tears on either side; the one being as glad of the room they left, as the other were desirous of their own removal. A. D. 1556. 4 Mary.

10. If any be curious to know the names of such who separated themselves from this congregation of Frankfort, this ensuing catalogue will acquaint him therewith [q]: The names of such as went to Geneva.

William Williams,	John Hilton,
William Whittingham [r],	Christopher Soothous,
Anthony Gilby,	Nicholas Purfote,
Christopher Goodman,	John Escot,
Thomas Cole,	Thomas Grafton,
John Fox,	William Walton,
Thomas Wood,	Laurence Kent,
William Kethe,	John Hellingham,
John Kelke,	Anthony Carier.

Of these, Mr. Fox, with a few moe, went to Basil; the rest settled themselves at Geneva, where they were all most courteously entertained. And now who can expect less but that those still remaining

[q] Taken out of their subscription to a letter, in the Troubles of Frankfort, p 47. [= 85.]

[r] [Whittingham, Gilby, and Goodman were fierce and violent schismatics, and the chief authors of those inflammatory religio-political pamphlets which were so frequent in the reign of queen Elizabeth: eventually they were sequestered for nonconformity.]

A. D. 1556. 4 Mary. at Frankfort, as the same in opinion, should be the same in affection, and live in brotherly love together? But, alas! man, while he is man, will be man; and Sathan, the sower of tares, did set a sad dissension betwixt them, which we come now to relate.

The sad difference betwixt Mr. Ashley and Mr. Horn

11. There was an eminent member of the congregation in Frankfort, Mr. Ashley by name, one of a worshipful degree [s], and, as it seems, of a spirit (not to say stomach) no whit beneath his extraction. Now there happened some high words at supper betwixt him and Mr. Horn, then pastor of the congregation; yet so that all the difference, by the seasonable mediation of the guests, was then seemingly composed; but two days after Mr. Ashley was convented before the elders, where it was laid to his charge that at the time and place aforesaid he had spoken words slanderous to them and their ministry. Ashley appealed from them (as an adversary part against him, and therefore no competent judges) unto the whole congregation, as men of estimation with both parties, to hear and determine the difference betwixt them.

Horn and the elders, in discontent, quit their places.

12. Hereat Mr. Horn and the elders were highly offended, pleading that they had received authority from the whole church to hear and decide such cases, and were resolved not to depart with the power so legally delegated unto them. And whereas many meetings were made of Mr. Ashley's friends to debate his business, Mr. Horn and the elders condemned them as tending to schism; accounting their own presence so of the quorum to any lawful

[s] Troubles of Frankfort, p. 55 [= 91]

assembly, that without it all conventions were conventicles. Yea, Mr. Horn and the elders, perceiving that Mr. Ashley's friends, being most numerous in the congregation, would bring his cause to be determined by the diffusive church, fully and freely forsook their ministry and service therein; preferring rather willingly to un-pastor and dis-elder themselves, than to retain the place without the power, title without the authority due thereunto. A.D. 1556. 4 Mary.

13. This deserting of their duty was by others interpreted an high contempt of the congregation; especially when, two days after, a full church met with an empty pulpit, wherein none to teach the people. The Ashleyans, being far the major part, took exception that Horn and the elders should, so slightly and suddenly, quit what before they had so seriously and solemnly accepted; as if their pastoral charges were like their clothes or upper garments, to be put off at pleasure, to cool themselves in every heat of passion. Besides, these men being married in a manner to their ministerial functions, could not legally divorce themselves without mutual consent, and the church's approbation thereof. Whereat the church is highly offended.

14. Soon after, the state of the controversy was altered, Mr. Ashley's business being laid aside, and another of an higher concernment taken up in the room thereof; namely, how the congregation should proceed against the pastors and elders, in case they were accused for misdemeanour; for hitherto no provisions were made, in the constitutions of this church, to regulate this case, if chancing to occur: whether because the compilers of those constitutions charitably presumed on the integrity of all such officers, or omitted the making any law against them Inquiry how to proceed against the pastor and elders, if accused.

A. D. 1556. 4 Mary. in favour to themselves, (as most probable to obtain such places;) or because no canons can at once be completed, but a reserve must be left for the additions of others to perfect the same. But now eight were appointed to regulate the manner of the proceeding of the congregation against pastor and elders if peccant, (who were without, or rather above, censure, according to the old discipline,) which still inflamed the anger of Mr. Horn and his party.

Mr. Chambers accused of injustice

15. A party much advantaged by Mr. Chambers siding therewith, because he was keeper of the charity conferred on, and contributions collected for, the congregation. Now, where goeth the purse, there goeth the poor: most in want were of Horn's side, in hope of the larger relief. This made others complain of Chambers, as an unjust steward of the church's treasure, too free to such as he affected, and bountiful only of taunts and ill terms to those of a different judgment; making neither men's need or deserts, but only his own fancy, the direction of his distributions.

The scandal of this dissension

16. Now began their brawls to grow so loud, that their next neighbours overheard them: I mean the state of Frankfort took notice thereof, to the shame of all, and grief of all good in the English nation; for how scandalous was it that exiles of the same country, for the same cause, could not agree together. But man in misery, as well as man in honour, hath no understanding. Yea, they began to fear lest many Dutchmen, hitherto their bountiful benefactors, should for the future withdraw their benevolences, conceiving these exiles wanted no money, who had such store of animosities, and probably poverty would make them more peaceable amongst

themselves. Their discords were the worse, because the vernal mart at Frankfort did approach; and it would be welcome ware, and an useful commodity for popish merchants meeting there, to carry over into England, and all the world over, the news of their distractions. A. D. 1556. 4 Mary.

17. Hereupon the magistrate of Frankfort interposed to arbitrate their differences, but whether of his own accord, or by the secret solicitation of others, is uncertain. Sure it is both parties solemnly disavowed any secret practice to procure the same. The magistrate interposed his counsels rather than commands, appearing very upright and unbiassed to either party; for though at the first he seemed to favour Horn and his complices, (out of that general sympathy which a magistrate beareth to all public officers,) yet afterwards, quitting their cause, he bent all his endeavours to make a reconciliation. By his edict it was ordered that the former pastors were put out of their functions, and made private men; that new ones, or the same again, if the church so pleased, were to be chosen in their rooms; that the treasure of the congregation should be kept jointly and distributed by the deacons, who at an appointed time should account for the same to the minister and elders; and the day after, leave was given them to devise a new discipline with convenient speed amongst themselves, and tender the same, when drawn up, to the magistrate for his ratification. In fine, all seemingly were made friends, in token whereof they (both parties) joined hands together. By the magistrate interposing, they are made short friends.

18. Soon after, fifteen were appointed to draw up a form of new discipline; but this new discipline occasioned new grudges, or rather revived the old New discipline makes new distractions.

A. D. 1557. 4 Mary. ones. Though short the book, it was long before fully finished, because such as were concerned therein drew the sheets thereof several ways. Some would have the old discipline stand still in full force, others would have it only altered, others totally abolished. When the discipline was new drawn up, some required months, and the most moderate more days of deliberation before they would subscribe it. In conclusion, whereas the whole congregation of Frankfort consisted then but of sixty-two, (understand them masters of families, besides women, children, and servants,) forty-two subscribed this new discipline, and the rest refused.

Mr. Horn and his party protest against it.

19. Presently they proceeded to the election of new pastors and ministers, when Mr. Horn, issuing into the church with his party, cast a bundle of paper bills on the table standing in the middle of the church; a table surely set there, not for the inflaming of discords, but the celebration of that sacrament which should cement them all in a comfortable communion. Those bills contained their refusals to concur in this election, because they could not in their consciences allow the discipline whereby it was made. However, the rest went on with their choice, and no one, (saving Mr. Wilford,) being formerly of the ministry, was now again elected: whereof this reason was rendered, because they, with Mr. Horn, had willingly relinquished their functions; and it was but just to take that from them which they cast away from themselves. Besides, it is said that some of them gave it out that if they should be re-elected, they would not accept thereof.

The matters put to moderators.

20. Hitherto we have had no mention, for a long time, of Dr. Cox; and it may seem much that the

activity of his spirit should be so long concealed, which makes some presume him absent all the while. But let such know, that Dr. Cox engaged in the former controversy, in defence of the Liturgy set forth in king Edward's reign, as concerning his sovereign's honour and general interest of the English church concerned therein; whereas he hitherto stood neuter in this difference of Mr. Horn's and his complices, as beholding it of narrower extent and less consequence betwixt particular persons. Whereupon the magistrate of Frankfort (not at leisure himself, because of the business of the mart, to examine the matter) appointed him, with Dr. Sandys and Richard Berty, esq., as men of estimation with both parties, to hear and determine the difference betwixt them. A. D. 1557. 4 Mary

21. By the powerful mediation of which umpires they were persuaded into some tolerable agreement, though it was no better than a palliate cure. But I am weary of their dissensions, and therefore proceed to some more acceptable subject; only let me add, that this whole story of their discords, with the causes and circumstances thereof, is taken out of the Troubles of Frankfort, a book composed in favour of the opposers of the English discipline; and when the writer is all for the plaintiff, the discreet reader will not only be an unpartial judge, but also somewhat of an advocate for the defendant. A kind of agreement made.

22. It is no less pleasant to consider than admirable to conceive how these exiles subsisted so long, and so far from their native country, in so comfortable a condition; especially seeing Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, solemnly vowed so to stop the sending of all supplies unto them, "that for very hunger "they should eat their own nails, and then feed on The wonderful providence in the maintenance of these poor exiles.

A. D. 1557. 4 Mary. "their fingers' ends." But threatened folk live long; and before these banished men were brought to that short bill of fare, the bishop was first all eaten up of worms himself. To reduce their subsistence within compass of belief, let the following particulars be put together [s].

Yet something they carried over with them.

23. Most of these clergy-exiles were men well preferred in king Edward's reign. These, as they were dissuaded by the due consideration of their ever-living God from being solicitously over-carking for the future, so were they advised, by their daily beholding of their consumptionish and ever-dying king, to be providentially careful for the time to come. This made them make hay in the sunshine; and then got they good feathers, wherewith afterwards they did fly beyond the seas.

The bounty of the banished gentry to their fellow-sufferers.

24. Some persons of much worship and wealth were amongst them, who bountifully communicated to the necessities of others. Of these the principal,

Sir John Cheke, of whom largely hereafter [t].

Sir Richard Morison, of Cashiobury, in Hertfordshire.

Sir Francis Knollys, afterwards privy counsellor to queen Elizabeth.

Sir Anthony Cook, (father-in-law to Cecil, after lord Burghley,) and famous for his learned daughters.

Sir Peter Carew, renowned for his valour in Ireland, where he died, anno 1576.

Sir Thomas Wroth, richly landed at and nigh Durance, in Middlesex.

[s] [This is one of Fox's brazen legends. Gardiner died of a dropsy, his health having been some time on the decline, Nov. 12, 1555. See Godwin in Kennet, II 351, note.]

[t] Humphrey in his Life of Jewell, p. 88.

Dame Dorothy Stafford, afterwards of the bed-chamber to queen Elizabeth. A.D. 1557. 4 Mary.

Dame Elizabeth Berkley.

These, accounting all their fellow-sufferers their fellows, forgot themselves, to remember the afflictions of Joseph; being advanced so much the higher in the esteem of all who were wise and virtuous, by how much they degraded themselves in their helpful condescension to their inferiors.

25. Many pious persons residing in England, but chiefly in London, (which commonly counterpoiseth the charity of all the land besides,) were very free towards their relief. Some of these, conscious to themselves of cowardly compliance with the superstitions of the times, hoped in some degree to lessen their offence by their liberality to such exiles as were more constant and courageous than themselves in the cause of the truth. And although great the distance betwixt London and Zurich, yet merchants have long arms, and by their bills of exchange reach all the world over. Richard Springham and John Abel, merchants of London, gave much and sent more to their support, as being entrusted to make over the gifts of many good people, utterly unknown to such as received them. That is the best charity, which, Nilus-like, hath the several streams thereof seen, but the fountain concealed. Such silent and secret bounty, as good at all times, to avoid vain-glory, is best in bad times, to prevent danger. As for Thomas Eton, a London merchant, but living in Germany, he was, saith my author[u], *communis hospes,* And of the Londoners unto them.

[u] Humphrey, ut prius.

A.D. 1557. 4 Mary

the host-general of all English exiles; thanks (and that forced on him against his will) being all the shot his guests paid at their departure.

Foreign liberality unto them.

26. The king of Denmark, Henry prince palatine of Rhine, Christopher duke of Wurtemburg, Wolfgang duke of Bipont, &c., with all the states and free cities wherein the English sojourned, were very bountiful unto them; so were the Dutch divines, especially those of Zurich; and take them in order as my foresaid author nameth them, Bullinger, Pellican, Bibliander, Simler, Wolphius, Lavater, Zuinglius, whose short stipends would scarce reach to maintain themselves, and yet their thrift and charity stretched them so as therewith also to relieve others. Nor let learned Gesner be forgotten, that great natural historian, and no less loving of men than knowing in beasts, fowl, and fishes. As for Peter Martyr, he had a petty college in his house at Strasburg, (whereof Mr. Jewell was the vice-master,) wherein most of the clergy paid (if any) easy rates for their diet therein.

Improved by their own industry;

27. Some of the English scholars subsisted partly by their own pains, the making of books, the copies whereof were very beneficial unto them. Say not this argued saleable souls, (savouring more of the stationer than the scholar,) to sell their books; yea, that it was a kind of simony in them to make profit of those their parts which God had freely bestowed upon them. For as it betrayeth a mercenary mind in those who, having plenty themselves, will sordidly contract for their copies, so such authors who are in want are faulty in being wanting to their own just relief, if neglecting moderate benefit by their own endeavours. Thus John Bale much advantaged

himself by his folio edition of his Centuries; Mr. Fox gained by his first (and least Latin) Book of Martyrs; Mr. Laurence Humphrey was no loser by his making and setting forth his three books *de nobilitate*, which he entitled *Optimates*, as by translating *Philo de Nobilitate*, and *Origen de recta fide*, out of Greek. Others employed themselves in overseeing and correcting the press, especially about the English Bible, with the Geneva notes thereon. A.D. 1557. 4 Mary

28. Such sums attained by their own industry, though small in bulk, were great in blessing, a divine benediction being always invisibly breathed on painful and lawful diligence. Thus the servant employed in making and blowing of the fire, though sent away thence as soon as it burneth clear, ofttimes getteth by his pains a more kindly and continuing heat than the master himself, who sitteth down by the same; and thus persons industriously occupying themselves thrive better on a little of their own honest getting, than lazy heirs on the large revenues left unto them. and God's blessing above all.

29. One thing much kept up the credit of the English exiles with the merchants and bankers beyond the seas; namely, the certain and constant report of queen Mary's decaying condition: daily consuming, though increasing; wasting, though swelling with an hydropical distemper, which could not be kept so close under the key of confession, but that it became the public discourse at home and abroad; and although many reports of queen Mary's death were shot out at random, (whereof one, some months after, hit the mark,) and the same were proved to be false, yet thereby the news of her sickness gained a general belief. This gave reputation Queen Mary her sickness believed enlivens the credit of English exiles.

A.D 1557. 4 Mary.

to such English in Germany as were known to be possessed of estates in their own country, enabling them with trust to borrow convenient sums from any creditors, who would make probable adventures for their advantage, beholding the English very responsible in an approaching reversion.

Sir John Cheke his unprosperous return.

30. So much of our English exiles, whom our pen will shortly handle under a better notion. Return we to sir John Cheke, lately mentioned, with a promise to enlarge his story; though so sad in itself, we would willingly (but for wronging of the truth) have buried the same in silence. Well and welcome, loved and respected, was this knight at Strasburg, when he would needs return for Brabant *ut uxorem duceret*, to marry a wife, saith the printed Sleidan, but by mistake, (for he was married some years before, to a lady which long survived him,) instead of *ut uxorem educeret*, that he might fetch forth and bring home his wife, lately, it seems, come out of England into the Low Countries[x]. He is said first to have consulted the stars, (would he had not gone so high, or else gone higher for his advice,) being too much addicted to judicial astrology. Now, whether here the error was in the art itself, as false and frivolous, or in his misapplying the rules thereof, (not well understanding the language of the stars,) more sure it is his journey had sad success; for in his return from Brussels to Antwerp, no whit secured by his own innocence, nor by the promise of the lord Paget, nor by the pledging of sir John Mason for his public protection, nor by the intercession of his friend Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, to queen

[x] Fox, Acts and Mon., tom. III. pag. 761.

Mary, he, with sir Peter Carew, was beaten from his horse, tied hand and foot to the bottom of a cart, thence conveyed hoodwinked to the next haven, and so shipped over under hatches unto the Tower of London. A. D. 1557. 4 Marv.

31. Here all arts were used on him, which might prevail to drive or draw an easy soul surprised on a sudden, to make him renounce his religion; until hard usage in prison, joined with threatenings of worse, and fair promises on his submission, drew from his mouth an abrenunciation of that truth which he so long had professed and still believed, and thereupon was restored to his liberty, but never to his contentment; for such is the tyranny of papists, that they are not satisfied to take men's consciences captive by their cruelty, except also they carry them about in public triumph, as here Bonner got sir John Cheke unawares to sit in the place where godly martyrs were condemned[y]; and although he then did nothing but sit still, sigh, and be silent, yet shame for what he had done, sense of what others suffered, and sorrow that his presence should be abused to countenance cruelty, brought him quickly to a comfortable end of a miserable life, as carrying God's pardon and all good men's pity along with him. Recanteth orally, and died for grief thereof. Sept. 13.

32. Since his death, his memory hath done some penance, (I say not to satisfy the failings in his life,) being wronged in his parentage, abused in his parts, and mistaken in his posterity. For the first, a learned pen[z] (but too free in dealing disgraceful characters History rectified in his parentage, parts, and posterity.

y Fox, ibidem.

z Sir John Hayward's Life of Edward VI. p. 6. [Strype's Mem. II. 472.]

A.D. 1557. 5 Mary. on the subjects thereof) styleth him a man of mean birth, and generally he is made only the son of his own deserts; whereas Mr. Peter Cheke, sir John's father, living in Cambridge, (where sir John was born, over against the cross in the market-place, and where, by the advantage of his nativity, he fell from the womb of his mother into the lap of the Muses,) was descended of the family of the Chekes of Moston in the Isle of Wight, (where their estate was about 300*l.* a year, never increased nor diminished till sold outright some twenty years since,) out of which Richard Cheke, in the reign of king Richard the Second, married a daughter of the lord Montague. As for Duffield, his mother, she was a discreet and grave matron, as appeared by the good counsel and Christian charge she gave this her son when coming to take his farewell of her, and betake himself to prince Edward his tuition [a]. For his parts, the foresaid author with the same breath termeth him, so far as appears by the books he wrote, pedantic enough, that is, too much, to such as understand his meiosis. But had he perused all his works, and particularly his True Subject to the Rebel, he would have bestowed a better character upon him. Another writer [b] can find no issue left of his body, saving one son bearing his father's name; whereas he had three sons by his wife, as appears on her monument in St. Martin's in the Fields: 1. Henry, the eldest, secretary to the council in the north, who on Frances Ratcliffe, sister to the last

[a] The mother of my aged and worthy friend Mr. Jackson of Histons was, with many others, present thereat.

[b] One that set forth his life in Oxford, anno 1641. [Prefixed to his True Subject to the Rebel]

earl of Sussex of that family, begat sir Thomas Cheke, of Pyrgo in Essex, blessed with an happy issue; 2. John, a valiant gentleman, and Edward, both dying without any posterity. But these things belong to heralds, not historians. A. D. 1557. 5 Mary

33. The sufferings of Katharine, duchess of Suffolk, baroness Willoughby of Eresby, late widow of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, since wife to Richard Berty, esq., must not be forgotten; a lady of a sharp wit, and sure hand to drive her wit home, and make it pierce where she pleased. This made bishop Gardiner to hate her much for her jests on him, but more for her earnest towards God, the sincerity of her religion; and thereupon she was forced, with her husband and infant daughter, to fly beyond the seas [c]. The pilgrimage of the duchess of Suffolk.

34. It would tire our pen to trace their removals, from their house (the Barbican, in London) to Lion Key; thence to Leigh; thence over seas (being twice driven back again) into Brabant; thence to Xanten, a city of Cleveland; thence to Wesel, one of the Hanse Towns; thence to Windhein, in the Palatinate; thence to Frankfort; thence, by many intermediate stages, into Poland. Every removal ministered them matter of new difficulties, to improve their patience; new dangers, to employ their prayers; and new deliverances, to admire God's providence; especially in their passage from Xanten to Wesel [d], in a cold February and a great thaw, after a long frost, on foot, in a dark night and rainy weather, through ways unknown, without guide to direct or True and sad errantry.

[c] [She was concerned in various treasons in this reign.]

[d] See it at large in Fox, tom. III. pag. 928.

A. D. 1557. 5 May company to defend them, leaving certain foes behind, and having but suspected friends before them. The end of their journey was worse than their journey itself, finding first at Wesel no inn to entertain them, able to speak little high Dutch for themselves, and other willing to speak in comfort to them. In a word, it would trouble one's head to invent more troubles than they had all at once; and it would break one's heart to undergo but half so many, seeing their real sufferings out-romanced the fictions of many errant adventures.

The vanity of relations. 35. No English subject had like foreign relations with this lady, and yet they rather afflicted than befriended her: she had been wife to him who had been husband to a queen of France, yet durst not go into that country. By the confession of bishop Gardiner himself, she and queen Mary were the only English ladies of Spanish extraction and alliance, yet was it unsafe for her to stay in any part of the Spanish dominions. The emperor owed her (as executrix to her husband, duke Charles) great sums of money, yet durst she not demand payment, lest the creditrix should be made away, and so the debt satisfied.

God the best debtor 36. Yet an higher emperor, even God himself, seemed in some sort indebted unto her (*he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord*) for her bounty at home, in the height of her honour, to foreigners, protestants especially, in distress.

Makes just payment. 37. And now that good debtor, God his providence, made full payment thereof, by inciting the king of Poland, at the mediation of the palatine of Vilna, (as he at the instance of John baron Alasco, who formerly in England had tasted of this lady's

liberality,) to call this duchess, with her husband and family, to a place in Poland of safety, profit, credit, and command, where they comfortably continued till the death of queen Mary. During these their travels, Peregrine Berty (carrying his foreign nativity in his name) was born unto them, afterwards the valiant lord Willoughby of Eresby. To conclude, let this virtuous lady her example encourage all to be good to all godly in distress, seeing *hospes hodie, cras hospes*, the entertainers to-day may want entertainment to-morrow. A. D. 1557. 5 Mary.

38. My pen hath been a long time an exile from England, and now is willing to return to its native soil, though finding little comfort to invite it thither, and less to welcome it there. Only I find a parliament called, solely commendable on this account, that it did no more mischief in church matters. Indeed the two former parliaments had so destroyed all things in religion, they gave a writ of ease to the rest in this queen's reign, to do nothing. Why the parliament so silent in church matters.

39. The same reason may be rendered of the silence in the convocation, where John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and prolocutor, preached also the Latin sermon[e]; his text, (how suiting to the occasion, let him answer it,) Matt. xxi. 2, *Ite in castellum quod contra vos est*, &c., where Christ sends two disciples to fetch him the ass and the ass colt. As also the convocation.

40. The clergy gave the queen a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, confirmed by act of parliament, to be paid in four years; in requital whereof, by Pole's procurement, the queen privileged them from shewing their horses with the laity; yet so as A grand subsidy granted.

[e] Register of Cant. in cardinal Pole.

A. D. 1557. 5 Mary. they should muster them up for the defence of the land, under captains of their own choosing.

Queen Mary somewhat stout, though more devout.

41. Here we meet with a piece of valour in queen Mary, daring to oppose the pope, and shewing that her mother queen Katharine's devotion had not drowned in her all the spirit of king Henry her father. Pope Paul the Fourth, wholly favouring the French faction, and perfectly hating cardinal Pole, whom he beheld as the principal promoter of the late wars in France, sent cardinal William Peyto (born of an ancient family at Chesterton in Warwickshire [f]) to ease him in England of his legatine power; but the queen so ordered the matter, that by her prerogative she prohibited Peito entrance into England, and got the aforesaid power established and confirmed on cardinal Pole.

The death of Stephen Gardiner

42 Somewhat before we saw a great wonder, viz. the death of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, not that he died, (being past sixty,) but that he, who lived so zealous a papist, should die more than half a protestant, as wholly one in the point of man's justification by the free mercies of God and merits of Christ [g]. John White, born in Winchester diocese, first schoolmaster, then warden of Winchester school, was by the premises so tempted to be also bishop there, that it made him digest the simony to succeed Gardiner, though on condition to pay a thousand pounds a year out of that bishopric to cardinal Pole, for his better support.

Trinity College in Oxford founded by

43. But the most pleasant object to entertain us at this time in England is the beholding of two fair

[f] Camden's Brit in Warwickshire, p. 424. [See Philips' Life of Cardinal Pole, II. 185, ed. 1764; and Heylyn's Reform. p. 248]

[g] Fox, Acts and Mon. [III. 527 I can find no authority for the succeeding statement]

and fresh foundations in Oxford [h]: the one, Trinity College, built by sir Thomas Pope, in the place where long since Thomas Hatfield, bishop, and Robert Walworth, prior of Durham, had built a college for Durham monks, which, at the present much decayed and ruinated, was by sir Thomas re-edified and endowed. I find this Mr. Pope (as yet unknighted) principal visitor at the dissolution of abbeys [i], into whose hands the seal of St. Alban's itself was first surrendered. Now, as none were losers employed in that service, so we find few refunding back to charitable uses; and perchance this man alone the *thankful Samaritan* [k] who made a public acknowledgment. A. D. 1557. 5 Marv. sir Thomas Pope.

Presidents	*Bishops.*	*Benefactors.*	*Learned Writers.*
[1556.] Thomas Slythurst [l] [1559] Arthur Yeldard [1598] Ranulph Kettle. [1643.] Dr. [Hannibal] Potter. Dr [Robert] Harris [m]. [Dr Bathurst]	[n]	Dame Elizabeth Paulet [o].	[John Selden, the learned antiquary. ὁ περὶ πᾶν πεπαιδευμένος] [The renowned Chillingworth]

Insomuch that therein is at this present a president,

[h] [Trinity College in 1555, and St. John's in 1557.]

[i] Weever's Funeral Mon. p. 112. [He is described as of Tyttenhanger in Hertfordshire, in Anthony Wood. Hist. of Colleges, &c]

[k] Luke xvii. 16.

[l] [Ejected by the visitors of queen Elizabeth for his religion, and cast into the Tower, where he died about 1560.]

[m] [Put in the place of Dr. Potter by the parliamentary visitors in Cromwell's time. Dr. Potter was restored in 1660]

[n] [Fourteen bishops, and among them Dr. Sheldon, are enumerated in Wood to 1781.]

[o] [Her name is not mentioned in the list of benefactors by Wood. She was the second wife of sir Thomas Pope, and

A.D. 1557. 5 Mary. twelve fellows, twelve scholars, besides officers and servants of the foundation, with many other students; the whole number being an hundred thirty three.

St John's College in Oxford founded by sir Thomas White.

44. The other, St. John's College, erected by sir Thomas White, (born at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire,) a bottomless fountain of bounty, if we consider the ponds which he filled, and besides the running streams which flowed from him. Of the first kind were the cities of London, Bristol, and Coventry, on which he severally bestowed great sums of money to purchase lands therewith. His running stream I account that his gift which I may call the circulation of charity, being a legacy of one hundred pounds delivered out of Merchant Taylors' Hall on St. Bartholomew's Day, and lent gratis to four poor clothiers for ten years, in twenty-three several corporations. Thus, as a wise merchant, he conceived it safest to adventure his bounty in sundry bottoms.

The occasion (ut aiunt) thereof.

45. But the masterpiece thereof was his founding of St. John's College, in Oxford. Indeed his liberality baited first at Gloucester Hall, which place he re-edified; but so small a hall was too little to lodge so large a soul in, which sought for a subject of greater receipt. A tradition goes of his dream, that he should in time meet with a place where two elms grew of the same height, and where his further purpose should take effect [o]. Come we from what he dreamt to what he did, who, finding belike that tree-mark, by it he built and endowed St. John's

afterwards married Hugh Paulet, esq, of Hinton St. George, in Somersetshire, and was buried in the college chapel Her only benefaction consisted of a donation of 10*l*.]

[o] Stow's Survey of London, p 91.

College; and being himself free of the company of merchant tailors in London, (where he was lord mayor,) he ordered that that school should be a prime nursery to his college; and out of it the most pregnant scholars are annually elected into this his foundation. It is now lately enlarged with addition of a new court and other benefactions, by the liberality of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, whose body though it be obscurely buried at All-hallows Barking, grateful posterity will deservedly behold this building as his lasting monument [p]. A. D. 1557 5 Mary.

Presidents.	*Bishops*	*Benefactors.*	*Learned Writers.*
[1555.] Alexander Belsire [q]. William Elyr.	Toby Matthew, archbishop of York.	Sir William Craven, knight.	Edmund Campion, Gregory Martin, Humphry Ely, Henry Holland,—fellows of this house, and violent papists [t]
[1563.] William Stoke, [or Storker.]	John Buckridge, bishop of Ely.	Sir William Paddy, knight, doctor of physic, commoner of the college. He gave freely towards the building and furnishing of their library, purchased to the college two perpetual patronages, and much beautified the chapel	John Case, doctor of physic [u].
[1564.] John Robinson	Rowland Searchfield, bishop of Bristol.		[Bishop Buckridge.]
[1572.] Toby Matthew.	William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury		William Laud, in his learned book against Fisher.
[1577.] Francis Willis.	William Juxon, bishop of London.		
[1590.] Ralph Hutchinson.	Dr. Boyle, bishop of Cork, [of Limerick in 1619]		
[1605.] John Buckridge			
[1611.] William Laud			
[1621.] William Juxon [s].			
[1632.] Richard Baylie			
[1648.] Francis Cheynell			
[1650] [Thankful] Owen.			

[p] [The body was afterwards removed from Barking Church, and buried in the college chapel.]

[q] [Deprived by queen Elizabeth for his religion]

[r] [Deprived also, for defending the supremacy of the pope, by the queen's visitors. He died in prison, 1609]

[s] [Deprived by the parliamentary visitors; was restored in 1660.]

[t] Pitzæus de Script. [p. 776, 781, 803.]

[u] [See Pitz. ib. 803.]

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A.D. 1558. 6 Mary. The above-mentioned Dr. Case, sometimes fellow of this college, married a wife, kept house in Oxford, and scholars in his house, teaching many youth logic, ethics, and philosophy. The university was so far from beholding this as an infringing of their privileges, that out of honour to this doctor's abilities his scholars, by special grace, were so far favoured that they were made as capable of degrees as if admitted gremials in the university. At this day St. John's hath a president, fifty fellows and scholars, a chaplain and a clerk, besides servants, commoners, and other students; being in all an hundred and twenty.

Calais lost, the queen melancholy.

46. Queen Mary every day waxed more and more melancholy, whereof several causes are assigned. Some conceive her sorrowing that by negligence the key of France (Calais) was slipped from her girdle, which her predecessors wore by their sides more than two hundred years; but now it is gone, let it go: it was but a beggarly town, which cost England ten times yearly more than it was worth in keeping thereof, as by the accounts in the exchequer doth plainly appear [x].

Her grief at her husband's absence.

47. Others ascribe her sadness to her husband's absence, which had many and made more occasions to go and stay beyond the seas, after he had found England not so useful as he expected, as having neither power therein nor profit thereby, (though as much as on the articles of marriage was promised him,) half so much as he had promised to himself; besides queen Mary her person was no gainer (scarce a saver) of affection, having her father's feature, a face broad

[x] And in a manuscript of sir Robert Cotton's own making

and big, with her mother's colour, a somewhat swarthy complexion [y]. A. D. 1558. 6 Mary.

48. As queen Mary was not over fair, king Philip was not over fond, especially after he began to despair of issue from her. Indeed her physicians hoped her to be with child, till her misconceived pregnancy proved a dropsy at the last, whereof she died, having reigned five years and odd months. As for the suggestion of Osorius the Spaniard, that the English protestants attempted to poison her, a learned author returns, *Nihil hujusmodi dictum, nec scriptum, fictum, nec pictum* [z], being the bare inventions of his scandalous tongue. And death of a dropsy. Nov. 17.

49. Within few hours after her death, died cardinal Pole, archbishop of Canterbury, one who, the longer he lived in England, the less he had of an Englishman, daily more and more Italianating himself, and conversing most with the merchants of that country: practising the principles of Italian thrift, his pomp was rather gaudy than costly, and attendance ceremonious more than expensive. By bills of exchange he made over much money to Venice and Rome; and fearing a bank in England, if queen Mary should fail, provided himself a bank beyond the seas. He procured of the queen the patronage of nineteen benefices unto his see [a], promised and The death of cardinal Pole.

y [Extreme unction was administered to her at the midnight of the 16th of November, 1558, and early on the following morning mass was celebrated in her bedchamber. She listened with that deep devotion which characterized her whole life, appeared to be perfectly sensible and collected, and expired about six o'clock in the morning, a few minutes before the conclusion of the service. Mr. Tytler from Gonzales, Reign of Queen Mary, p. 500]

z Haddon, Contra Osorium, lib. I. fol. 25.

a [Parker, Ant. 528]

A.D. 1558. 6 Mary. intended to repair the palace at Canterbury. He was buried in his own cathedral, with this short and modest epitaph on his plain monument:

"DEPOSITVM CARDINALIS POLI [b]."

His good inclinations to be a protestant.

50. He always had a favourable inclination to protestants, though, to wipe off the aspersion of Lutheranism, at last he grew somewhat severe against them, but expressing it rather in wronging the dead (whose bones he burnt) than hurting the

[b] [He outlived the queen but sixteen hours; she dying between the hours of five and six in the morning, and he about three o'clock the succeeding morning. "ad tertiam horam "noctis." Park. Ant. 532. Godwin. At the time of his death he was in his fifty-ninth year.

It is not easy to form a fair estimate of this cardinal's character, many of his panegyrists being guided in their opinions entirely by foreign biographers; others, on the other hand, indiscriminately condemning him with the rest of the bishops who were active in suppressing the protestant religion; archbishop Tunstall, in a passage quoted by Mr. Turner, (Ed. VI. p. 155,) reflects very severely on the cardinal, who was then engaged in forming an association against his own country: "The bishop of Rome has "allowed to his purpose a "subject of this realm, Regi- "nald Pole, coming of a noble "blood, and thereby the more "arrant traitor, to go about "from prince to prince, and "from country to country, to "stir them to war against this "realm, and to destroy the "same, being his native coun- "try. This most unkind trai- "tor is his minister to so "devilish a purpose; without "shame, he still goeth on ex- "horting thereunto all princes "that will hear him." Sermon on Palm Sunday, 1539. This alludes to the cardinal's endeavour to stimulate the French king and the emperor to undertake a war against this kingdom. But much may be said in his excuse, if this rumour of which the bishop spake were true, considering the savage cruelty exercised upon the cardinal's mother and brother, and that he acted no otherwise than as an officer employed by the pope. Abstractedly of the fact that no instances of cruelty are charged upon him by protestant historians, it is no slight proof of the mildness of his character that he was the intimate friend of Sadolet, Contareni, Bembo, and other foreign scholars who were in the highest estimation for moderation and piety]

living. The papists accuse him for too much indulgence to the married clergy, because only parting them from their wives, and depriving them from their livings; but soon afterwards preferring the same persons to benefices of far better revenue [c]. He was an absolute protestant in the point of justification, much offended with the proud error of Osorius therein; thus expressing himself: *Non potest viribus humanis nimium detrahi, nec addi Divinæ gratiæ* [d]; "Too much cannot be taken away from "man's power, nor given to God's grace." A. D. 1558. 6 Mary.

51. He left Aloisius Priuli, a gentleman of Venice, his sole executor, to dispose of his estate to pious uses, chiefly on the relief of foreigners. In England he had no want of near kindred, and some of them, for all their high birth, near akin to want; yet he, passing them by, ordered that his whole estate should be conferred on Italians; some condemning, some commending him for the same, as a deed of gratitude, because those of that nation had formerly for many years relieved his necessities. His executor so honestly discharged his trust therein, that he freely disposed the whole estate to the true intent of the testator, insomuch that he left not any thing thereof unto himself, save only two small books, viz. a breviary and a diurnal, for a mere memorial [e]. Thus died cardinal Pole, neither of Italian physic wilfully taken by himself, as an English author insinuates [f], nor of poison given to him by the protestants, as a Leaveth all his estate to Italians.

[c] Sanders, De Schis. Ang. p. 245.
[d] Haddon, Contra Osorium, lib. II. fol. 58. [Strype's Mem. III. 468.]
[e] [Parker, Ant. 533. Phillips, II. 211.]
[f] Fox's Acts, II. 957.

A. D. 1558. 6 Mary. Spanish writer suggests, but of a quartan fever then epidemical in England, and malignant above the ordinary nature of that disease [g].

Queen Mary's double funeral sermons.

52. The funerals of queen Mary were performed with much solemnity and true sorrow of those of her own religion. White, bishop of Winchester, preached the sermon, taking for his text Ecclesiastes ix. 4, *A living dog is better than a dead lion* [h]. One not present at the place might easily tell whom he made the lion, and whom the dog. Indeed he strewed all the flowers of his rhetoric on queen Mary deceased, leaving not so much as the stalks to scatter on her surviving sister [i]. This White,

[g] [Parker, Ant. 532.]

[h] Pitz. de Script. p. 763

[i] [This is a great mistake, and conveys a strange misrepresentation of Winchester's sermon, but Fuller derived his information, in all probability, from sir J. Harrington, a noted court satirist, and he is not the only author who has been misled by that writer. Winchester's sermon has been printed by Strype, in his Mem. III. 2. p. 277. His text is in these words: "*Laudavi mortuos magis quam viventes, sed feliciorem utroque judicavi qui necdum natus est.*" After endeavouring to shew how this observation of Solomon is reconcilable with the purer precepts of Christianity, he proceeds to shew that the condition of those who die in the faith is more desirable than that of the living. He then takes occasion to shew how an apparently contradictory passage of Solomon ("*melius est canis vivus quam leo mortuus*") may be reconciled with his text. He then reverts to the original subject of his text; and so far is he from making any reflections upon queen Elizabeth, that the only place in which he refers to her is in these words: "And as we for our parts have received worthily detriment and discomfort upon her [queen Mary's] departing, so let us comfort ourselves in the other sister, whom God hath left, wishing her a prosperous reign in peace and tranquillity, with the blessing which the prophet speaketh of, if it be God's will, *ut videat filios filiorum et pacem super Israel;* ever confessing that though God hath mercifully provided for them both, yet *Maria optimam partem elegit;* because it is still a conclusion, *Laudavi*

being a tolerable poet, (for so one characterethA.D. 1558 him [k],) was an intolerable flatterer, and made use of 6 Mary. his poetical license in the praise of popery. More modest and moderate was the sermon of Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, taking for his text Ecclesiastes iv. 2, *I praise the dead rather than the living* [l], who preached also the obsequies of queen Mary; either that he did it as an act of supererogation, or because it was conceived the more state for so great a prince to have a duplicate of such solemnities. The best is, the protestants of that age cared not how many (so it be funeral) sermons were preached for her.

53. However, take queen Mary in herself, abstracted from her opinions, and by herself, secluded from her bloody counsellors, and her memory will justly come under commendation. Indeed she knew not the art of being popular [m], and never cared to

Her deserved praise.

"*mortuos magis quam viventes.*" If White was committed for this sermon, as Strype says, (Mem. III. 466,) it was most probably for his reflections upon Geneva, or for over-extolling the deceased queen, as the same writer thinks; for, according to Goodman, queen Elizabeth was never much pleased at hearing the praises of her sister Mary; and it is certain that when White, in the course of his sermon, took occasion to describe the death of queen Mary, he fell into such a passion of tears, that his utterance was choked by his sobbing and weeping, and a considerable time elapsed before he was able to proceed.]

[k] Camd. in his Eliz. in anno 1599, p. 23.

[l] [Part of this sermon is printed by Collier, II. 405.]

[m] [It is certainly a great mistake that Mary knew not the art of popularity; she would not stoop to it like her sister, and perhaps her Spanish connexion stood much in her way; but in the instances where exertion was required, and she felt it her duty to appeal to the affections of the people, first in vindicating her claim to the throne, and secondly in quelling Wyat's rebellion, the effect which she produced was remarkable. There was honesty of speech and purpose about her which

A.D. 1558. 6 Mary. learn it, and generally (being more given to her beads than her book) had less of learning, or parts to get it, than any of her father's children. She hated to equivocate in her own religion, and alway was what she was, without dissembling her judgment or practice, for fear or flattery; little beloved of her subjects, to whom though once she remitted an entire subsidy, yet it little moved their affections, because, though liberal in this act, she had been unjust in another, her breach of promise to the gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk. However, she had been a worthy princess, had as little cruelty been done under her as was done by her [n]. Her devotion always commanded her profit, and oftentimes did fill the church with the emptying of her own exchequer.

Her and her ladies' bounty to the hospitals of the Savoy.

54. Take one instance of many: the hospital of the Savoy in the Strand, founded by her grandfather king Henry the Seventh, and since dissolved, was by her erected again; and whereas the utensils thereof had lately been embezzled, (the house being left as bare as the poor people which were brought therein,) her maids of honour, out of their own wardrobe, furnished it with beds, blankets, and sheets [o]. Were any of those ladies still alive, I would pray for them in the language of the psalmist, *The Lord make all their bed in their sickness* [p]. And he is a good bed-maker indeed who can and will

never failed to secure her a favourable reception.]

[n] ["She was a body," says bishop Godwin, "very godly, "merciful, chaste, and every "way praiseworthy, if you re- "gard not the errors of her "religion."]

[o] Stow, in his Survey of London, p 491. [Bk.IV.p.107. Strype.]

[p] Psalm xli. 3.

make it fit the person and please the patient. But seeing such long since are all deceased, it will be no superstition to praise God for their piety, and commend their practice to the imitation of posterity. A.D. 1558. 6 Mary.

55. Her body was interred in the chapel of king Henry the Seventh, in the aisle on the north side thereof; and afterwards the corpse of her sister queen Elizabeth was buried in the same vault. Over both king James afterwards erected a most sumptuous monument, though the epitaph inscribed thereon taketh no notice at all of queen Mary, as destined and designed solely to the memory of queen Elizabeth. But Mary's name still surviveth in many [Roman] catholic families, being (though never mother herself) godmother to many of her servants' sons, giving her own [Anthony-Maria, Edward-Maria, &c.] as an addition to their Christian names. The place of her burial.

56. Many great persons, chiefly of the clergy, followed her into another world; whether out of a politic sympathy that being raised by her, they would fall with her, or that, foreseeing alteration of religion, and their own ruin, they died, to prevent death, heart-broken with sorrow. Besides, at this time there was a strange mortality, different from other infections, not sweeping but choosing, which did principally single out men of wealth and quality [q]. Whilst such as make uncharitable applications parallel this to the plague of the Israelites, *which slew the wealthiest of them* [r], we will only conceive that God paveth the way for queen Elizabeth's coming to the crown.

q "Communis quædam lues "ex ardore febrium per univer- "sos Angliæ ordines permeabat "et in illis maxime divites, et "honorantes personas depopu- "labatur." Haddon, Contra Osorium, fol 25.

r Psalm lxxi. 32.

A. D. 1558. 6 Mary. God, intending to plant in queen Elizabeth, first cleared the ground by removing such as probably would oppose her [s]. Neither was it a small advantage unto her that the parliament sat at her sister's death; after which they only continued so long as Nov. 18. jointly and publicly to proclaim Elizabeth queen [t], and then they were dissolved [u]. Now, though her title was free from doubt, yet it was not so clear from cavils but that one, considering the power of the English papists at this time, and their activity at all times, will conclude they might have (though not hurt, troubled, and though not hindered) disturbed her succession; whereas now, being so solemnly proclaimed, it gave much countenance and some strength to her right, being done by the whole state in so weighty a manner that it crushed in pieces all hopes of private oppositions. Thus those whom God will have to rise shall never want hands to lift them up.

[s] [Queen Mary died the 17th of November, 1558. Strype's An. I. 1]

[t] Holinshed, II. 1170.

[u] [Elizabeth was proclaimed before Mary's death, who was so far from putting any obstacle in the way of her sister's succession, as some have asserted, that she expressed herself much pleased when the proposal was made to her; only adding two requests, that her debts should be paid, and the old religion be maintained, which she had some reason to expect, as Elizabeth always professed her attachment to it]

THE

CHURCH HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN.

THE NINTH BOOK,

CONTAINING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

TO

THE HONOURABLE

GEORGE BERKELEY,

SOLE SON TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
GEORGE BARON OF BERKELEY[a].

HAVE ever dissented from their opinion who maintain that the world was created a level champaign, mountains being only the product of Noah's flood, where the violence of the waters aggested the earth,

[a] ["Most children," observes Lloyd in his Memoirs, p. 128, "are notified by their parents; "yet some fathers are made "eminent by their children: as "Simon of Cyrene is known "by this character,—the father "of Alexander and Rufus; "and this honourable person "[George baron of Berkeley] "by this happy circumstance, "—that he was father to the "right honourable George lord "Berkeley, [the subject of the "Dedication,] who hath been "as bountiful to the Church "of England and its suffering "members of late, (witness Dr. "Pearson, Dr. Fuller, &c.) as "his honourable ancestors were "to the same church and its "devout members formerly, "when there were twelve ab-"beys of their erection, which "enjoyed twenty-eight knights' "fees of their donation; that "noble family now, as well as "then, deserving to wear an "abbot's mitre for the crest of "their arms, so loving they "have been always to the "clergy, and so ready to build "them synagogues and endow "them, not only with worthy "maintenance, but with emi-"nent incumbents, such whose "*gifts* the church wanted more "than they its *incomes;* ho-

gored out of the hollow valleys; for we read how, in that deluge, *the mountains were* (not then as upstarts first caused, but as old standards, newly) *covered* [b].

As much do I differ from their false position, who affirm that all being equal in the loins of Adam and womb of Eve, honour was only the effect of human ambition in such whose pride or power advanced themselves above others; whereas it was adequate to the creation, as originally fixed, in eldership or primogeniture, and afterwards, by Divine Providence, (the sole fountain thereof,) conferred on others, either out of love, by nothing less than his express commission for their good, or hatred, by somewhat more than his bare permission for their ruin.

The three sons of David serve us for the threefold division of honour:

i. Absalom said, *O that I were made judge in the land* [c]*!*

" nest men in the worst of " times finding him their pa- " tron, and ingenious men in " the best of times enjoying " him at once their encourage- " ment and their example; be- " ing happy to a great degree " in that ingenuity himself that " he doth so much promote in " others. May there never " want worthy men that may " deserve such a noble patron, " and may noble persons never " be wanting that may encou- " rage such worthy men." To this noble and exemplary patron Fuller also dedicated his Appeal of Injured Innocence. He succeeded to the title of Berkeley in 1658, and died in 1698. Besides his other acts of generosity, he gave a large collection of books to Sion College Collins, III. 617]

[b] Gen. vii. 20.

[c] 2 Sam. xv. 4

ii. Adonijah *exalted himself, saying, I will be king* [d].

iii. Solomon said nothing; but David said, (and God confirmed his words, *Assuredly he shall reign after me* [e].

The first sought by secret ambition to surprise his father's subjects.

The second went a more bold and blunt way to work, by open usurpation; but both finally miscarried.

The third reached not at all at honour, but only happily held what was put into his hands.

But when outward greatness (as in the last instance) is attended with inward grace, all Christian beholders thereof are indebted to a double tribute of respect to that person whose honour is marshalled according to the apostolical equipage [f]: BUT GLORY, HONOUR, AND PEACE. See how it standeth like a shield in the middle, with *glory* and *peace* as supporters on each side. And this is that honour, the zealous pursuit whereof I humbly recommend unto you.

Nor will you be offended at this my counsel, as if it imported a suspicion of your present practice, who know well what St. Paul saith, *Edify one another, even as ye do* [g]. It is no tautology to advise good people to do what they do: such pre-

[d] 1 Kings i. 5.
[e] 1 Kings i. 17.
[f] Rom. ii. 12.
[g] 1 Thess v. 11.

cepts are praises, such counsels commendations. And in this notion do I tender my humble advice to your consideration.

Remember the modesty of David in asking, *One thing have I desired of the Lord*[h], viz. to be constantly present at his public service. And behold the bounty of God in giving three for one: *And he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honour*[i]. Such measure may you assuredly expect from him, if before and above all things seeking for that one thing which is needful; the rather because God hath done great things for you already, for which you have cause to rejoice.

A great and good man said to his fellow-servants, *Seemeth it a small thing to you to be son-in-law to a king*[k]*?* A greater honour was done to your first ancestor, who was son to a king, namely, to Hardinge, king of Denmark, whence Fitz-Harding, your most ancient surname. But labour, sir, for a higher honour than both: even to be led by God's Spirit; and then you shall be, even in the language of the apostle himself, Fitz-Dieu, *a son of God*[l].

Now, as your eminent bounty unto me may justly challenge the choicest of my best endeavours, so the particular motive inducing me to dedicate this Book to your honour is, because it containeth the reign of queen Elizabeth, to whom you are so nearly related; whose grandmother proved her heir,

[h] Psalm xxvii. 4.
[i] 1 Cor. xxix. 28.
[k] 1 Sam. xviii. 23.
[l] Rom. viii. 14.

by Anne Boleyn, her mother[m]; in which capacity some of that queen's (or rather the lady Elizabeth's) movables and jewels, which were her mother's, descended unto her. You may therefore challenge an interest most properly in this part of my History.

And now what remaineth but my humble and hearty prayers to the Divine Majesty for his blessing on yourself, and on your hopeful issue, that God would plentifully pour all his favours of this and a better life upon them?

Suspect me not, sir, for omitting, because not expressing, your noble consort[n]. We find, in the fourth Commandment, "Thou, and thy son, and thy "daughter," &c.; where divines render this reason why the wife is not mentioned, because the same person with the husband: on which account your second self is effectually included within the daily devotions of

Your bounden Orator,

THOMAS FULLER.

[m] The heir-general of George Carr L. Hunsdon, whose grandmother Mary was second sister to Anne Boleyn.

[n] [He married Elizabeth Massingbeard, one of the coheiresses of John Massingbeard, esq., of Lincolnshire. Collins, III. 619. One of his daughters, lady Theophila Berkeley, married the excellent and pious Robert Nelson.]

THE

CHURCH HISTORY

OF

BRITAIN.

BOOK IX.

FOR the first six weeks the queen and her wise council suffered matters to stand in their former state, without the least change, as yet not altering but consulting what should be altered. Thus our Saviour Himself, coming into the temple, and finding it profaned with sacrilege, *when He had looked round about upon all things*[a], departed for that evening, contenting Himself with the survey of what was amiss, and deferring the reformation thereof till the next morning. But on the first of January following[b], being Sunday, (the best new-year's gift that ever was bestowed on England,) by virtue of the queen's proclamation, the litany was

A.D. 1558. 1 Eliz.

Her slow but sure pace of reformation.

[a] Mark xi. 11.

[b] Holinshed, first year of queen Elizabeth, p. 1172. [The reason of this delay is to be found in that secret policy which the queen adopted at the commencement of her reign, with a view to deceive the Roman catholic party. See a very sensible note by the new editor of Dodd's Church History, III. p. 123.]

A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz. read in English, with epistles and gospels, in all churches of London, as it was formerly in her grace's own chapel [c].

The forwardness of private men in public reformation variously censured.

2. But some violent spirits, impatient to attend the leisure (by them counted the laziness) of authority, fell beforehand to the beating down of superstitious pictures and images [d], and their forward zeal met with many to applaud it; for idolatry is not to be permitted a moment; the first minute is the fittest to abolish it; all that have power have right to destroy it, by that grand charter of religion whereby every one is bound to advance God's glory. And if sovereigns forget, no reason but subjects should remember their duty. But others condemned their indiscretion herein; for though they might reform their private persons and families, and refrain to communicate in any outward act contrary to God's word, yet public reformation belonged to the magistrate, and a good deed was by them ill done for want of a calling to do it. However, the papists have no cause to tax them with over-forwardness in this kind, the like being done by them in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, whilst the laws of king Edward the Sixth stood as yet in full force, when they prevented authority, as hath been for-

[c] [This proclamation was given from the palace at Westminster, 27th Dec. 1558; and on the Sunday following the lord mayor accordingly gave commandment for reading the litany, the Lord's prayer, and the creed in English, and that all persons should forbear "to "preach or teach, or to give "audience to any manner of "doctrine or preaching other "than to the gospels and epi-"stles commonly called the "gospel and epistle of the day, "and to the ten command-"ments in the vulgar tongue." It is printed in full in Strype's Ann. I Ap. p. 3, and in Wilkins' Conc. IV. 180.]

[d] [See Strype's Annals, I. 48.]

merly observed [e]. Thus those who are hungry, and have meat afore them, will hardly be kept from eating, though grace be not said and leave given them by their superiors. A. D 1559. 1 Eliz.

3. Now the tidings of queen Elizabeth's peaceable coming to the crown was no sooner brought beyond the seas, but it filled the English exiles with unspeakable gladness, being instantly at home in their hearts, and not long after with their bodies [f]. I knew one right well whose father amongst them, being desperately diseased, was presently and perfectly cured with the cordial of this good news; and no wonder if this queen recovered sick men, which revived religion itself. Now the English Church at Geneva, being the greatest opposer of ceremonies, sent their letter by William Keith to all other English congregations in Germany, and especially to those of Frankfort, congratulating their present deliverance, condoling their former discords, counselling and requesting "that all offences heretofore "given or taken might be forgiven and forgotten, "and that for the future they might no more fall "out about superfluous ceremonies." But this letter came too late [g], because the principal persons concerned in that controversy, with whom they sought a charitable reconciliation, were departed from Frankfort (I think towards England) before the messenger arrived, and so the motion missed to take effect. Some suppose, had it come in season, The letter from the English church at Geneva to those at Frankfort about accommodation in ceremonies comes too late.

[e] See Cent. XVI. Part II. par. 2.

[f] [Of the return of the English exiles, see Strype's Annals, I. 102.]

[g] It was dated Dec. 15, but not received till about Jan. the 2nd. [1559] See Troubles of Frankfort, p 162. [=182]

A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz. it might have prevailed much, that both parties, in gratitude to God, would in a bonfire of their general joy have burnt this unhappy bone of dissension cast betwixt them. Others, considering the distance of their principles and difference of their spirits, conceive such an agreement neither could be wrought nor would be kept betwixt them. For it is the property of cold to congregate together things of different kinds; and if the winter of want, pinching them all with poverty, could not freeze their affections together, less likely was it that the warmth of wealth in their native soil would conjoin them in amity, but rather widen them further asunder, as indeed it came to pass. For as the rivers of Danubius and Savus, in Hungary, though running in the same channel, yet for many miles keep different streams visible in their party-coloured waters, which do rather touch than unite; yea, the fishes peculiar to one stream are not found in another: so these opposite parties, returning home, though concurring in doctrine under the general notion of protestants, were so reserved in several disciplines to themselves, with their private favourites and followers, that they wanted that comfortable communion which some hoped and all wished would be amongst them. Till at last they brake out into doleful and dangerous opposition, whereat all papists clap and protestants wring their hands, which our fathers found begun, ourselves see heightened, and know not whether our children shall behold them pacified and appeased.

Alteration of religion enacted by the parliament.

4. But now a parliament began at Westminster, wherein the laws of king Henry the Eighth against the see of Rome were renewed, and those of king Edward the Sixth in favour of the protestants

revived, and the laws by queen Mary made against them repealed. Uniformity of prayer and administration of sacraments was enacted, with a restitution of first fruits, tenths, &c. to the crown[h]. For all which we remit the reader to the statutes at large. It was also enacted, "That whatsoever jurisdictions, "privileges, and spiritual pre-eminences had been "heretofore in use by any ecclesiastical authority "whatsoever, to visit ecclesiastical men, and correct "all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, and "enormities, should be for ever annexed to the "imperial crown of England; that the queen and her "successors might, by their letters patent, substitute "certain men to exercise that authority, howbeit "with proviso that they should define nothing to be "heresy but those things which were long before "defined to be heresies, out of the sacred canonical "scriptures, or of the four œcumenical councils, or "other councils, by the true and proper sense of the "holy scriptures, or should thereafter be so defined "by authority of the parliament, with assent of the "clergy of England assembled in a synod. That "all and every ecclesiastical persons, magistrates, "receivers of pensions out of the exchequer, such "as were to receive degrees in the universities, "wards that were to sue their liveries and to be "invested in their livings, and such as were to be "admitted into the number of the queen's servants, "&c. should be tied by oath to acknowledge the "queen's majesty to be the only and supreme go-"vernor of her kingdoms," (the title of supreme head of the Church of England liked them not,) A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz.

[h] [1 Eliz. 1. sq, and Burnet's Ref. II. 762.]

A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz.

"in all matters and causes, as well spiritual as temporal, all foreign protestants and princes being "quite excluded from taking cognizance of causes "within her dominions."

Papists' exceptions against the queen's supremacy.

5. But the papists found themselves much aggrieved at this ecclesiastical power, declared and confirmed to be in the queen; they complained that the simplicity of poor people was abused, the queen declining the title "head," and assuming the name "governor of the church," which, though less offensive, was more expressive. So, whilst their ears were favoured in her waving the word, their souls were deceived with the same sense under another expression. They cavilled how king Henry the Eighth was qualified for that place and power, being a layman [1]; king Edward double debarred for the present, being a lay child; queen Elizabeth totally excluded for the future, being a lay woman. They object also [k], that the very writers of the Centuries, though protestants [l], condemn such headship of the church in princes; and Calvin, more particularly, sharply taxeth bishop Gardiner for allowing the same privilege to king Henry the Eighth [m].

The same how defended by protestant divines.

6. Yet nothing was granted the queen, or taken by her, but what in due belonged unto her, according as the most learned and moderate divines have defended it; for first they acknowledged that Christ alone is the supreme sovereign of the church, performing the duty of an head unto it, by giving it

[1] Sanders de Schismate, p. 252. [For the arguments of the Roman catholics, see Dodd, III. 128.]

[k] Sum of the Conference between Hart and Rainoldes, p. 673, [ed. 1584.]

[l] Magdeburg. Centur in Præfat. Cent. VII.

[m] Upon the 7th of Amos.

power of life, feeling, and moving [n]; and *Him hath God appointed to be head of the church* [o], and *by Him all the body furnished and knit together, by joints and bands increaseth with the increasing of God* [p]. This headship cannot stand on any mortal shoulders, it being as incommunicable to a creature as a creature is incapable to receive it. There is also a peculiar supremacy of priests in ecclesiastical matters; to preach the word, minister the sacraments, celebrate prayers, and practise the discipline of the church, which no prince can invade without usurpation and the sin of sacrilege; for incense itself did stink in the nostrils of the God of heaven, and provoked his anger [q], when offered by king Uzziah, who had no calling thereunto [r]. Besides these, there is that power which Hezekiah exercised in his dominions, *commanding the Levites and priests to do their duty, and the people to serve the Lord.* And to this power of the prince it belongeth to restore religion decayed, reform the church corrupted, protect the same reformed. This was that supremacy in causes and over persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil, which was derived from God to the queen, annexed to the crown, disused in the days of her sister, (whose blind zeal surrendered it to the pope,) not now first fixed in the crown by this act of state, but by the same declared to the A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz.

[n] Sum of the Conference between Hart and Rainoldes, p. 38.

[o] Ephes i. 22.

[p] Col. ii. 19.

[q] 2 Chron. xxvi. 19.

[r] [See the Injunctions given by the queen's majesty, 1559, Art. 53, where the meaning of this supremacy is explained in an article written expressly for the information of "simple men deceived by the "malicious." Wilkins' Conc. IV. 188.]

A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz. ignorant that knew it not, cleared to the scrupulous that doubted of it, and asserted from the obstinate that denied it.

How Dr. Rainoldes answereth the exceptions to the contrary.

7. As for Calvin, he "reproveth not" (reader, it is Dr. Rainoldes whom thou readest) "the title of "head, as the protestants granted it, but that sense "thereof which popish prelates gave, (namely, Ste-"phen Gardiner,) who did urge it so as if they had "meant thereby that the king might do things in "religion according to his own will, and not see "them done according to God's will [s];" namely, that he might forbid the clergy marriage, the laity the cup in the Lord's Supper. And the truth is, that Stephen Gardiner was shamelessly hyperbolical in fixing that in the king which formerly, with as little right, the pope had assumed. Whether he did it out of mere flattery, as full of adulation as superstition, equally free in sprinkling court and church holy water, and as very a fawning spaniel under king Henry the Eighth as afterwards he proved a cruel bloodhound under queen Mary his daughter. Or because this bishop, being in his heart disaffected to the truth, of set purpose betrayed it in defending it, suiting king Henry's vast body and mind with as mighty, yea, monstrous a power in those his odious instances, straining the king's authority too high, on set purpose to break and to render it openly obnoxious to just exception. The Centuriators also, well understood, do allow and confess the magistrate's jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters [t], though on good reason they be enemies to this usurpation

[s] [Conference of Hart and Rainoldes, p 673]

[t] Idem ibid

of unlawful power therein. But I digress, and therein transgress, seeing the large prosecution hereof belongs to divines. A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz.

9. But Sanders taketh a particular exception against the regular passing of this act, Elizabeth shewing much queen-craft in procuring the votes of the nobility [u], feeding the earl of Arundel [v] with fond hopes that she would marry him, and promising the duke of Norfolk [x] a dispensation from his wife, which he could not with such expedition obtain from the pope; and yet, saith he, when all was done, it was carried in the house of lords but by three voices [y]. Here (not to mention how, in the greatest councils, matters of most high concernment have been determined with as few as three clear decisive suffrages) this suggestion of Sanders is a loud untruth; for the act, having easily passed the house of commons, found none of the temporal nobility in the house of lords to oppose it [z], save only the earl of Shrewsbury [a], and Anthony Brown, viscount Mountague, who had formerly been employed to reconcile the kingdom of England to his holiness [b]. As for the bishops, there were but four- Sanders confuted of falsehood.

[u] De Schismate Anglicano, p. 263. [Dodd III. 126.]
[v] [Henry Fitz-Alan.]
[x] [Henry Thomas Howard.]
[y] Idem, ib.
[z] Camden's Elizabeth in this year, p. 19. [Burnet's Ref. II. 771.]
[a] [Francis Talbot.]
[b] [This Antony Brown, the first viscount Mountague, was a great favourite of queen Mary, by whom he was advanced to the title. He was employed in 1553, together with Thomas Thirlby, then bishop of Ely, in reconciling this realm to the pope, and although he opposed queen Elizabeth in the matter of the pope's supremacy, and was a zealous Romanist, he was so highly esteemed for his prudence and loyalty, as to be sent the next year ambassador into Spain. Neither did he make an evil return for this confidence of his sovereign, ac-

A.D. 1559 1 Eliz. teen, and the abbot of Westminster [c], then alive; of whom four being absent, (whether voluntarily or out of sickness, uncertain,) the rest could not make any

cording to the honourable testimony given of him in a tract entitled "The Copy of a Letter " sent out of England to Don " Bern. Mendoza, &c." 1588, the supposed production of lord Burleigh. " The first that " shewed his bands to the " queen [at the coming of the " Spanish armada] was that " noble, virtuous, honourable " man, the viscount Mountague, who, howsoever men " do judge of him for opinion " in religion, yet to tell you " the truth he is reported " always to have professed, as " now also at this time he did " profess and protest solemnly " both to this queen and to all " her court, in open assemblies, " that he now came, though he " was very sickly and in age, " with a full resolution to live " and die in defence of the " queen and of his country " against all invaders, whether " it were pope, king, or po- " tentate whatsoever; and in " that quarrel he would hazard " his life, his children, his " lands, and goods. And to " shew his mind agreeably " thereto, he came personally " himself before the queen, " with his band of horsemen, " being almost two hundred; " the same being led by his " own sons, and with them a " young child, very comely " seated on horseback, being " the heir of his house; that " is, the eldest son to his son " and heir; a matter much " noted of many whom I heard " to commend the same: to " see a grandfather, father, and " son at one time on horse- " back afore a queen for her " service; though in truth I " was sorry to see our adver- " saries so greatly pleased " therewith. But I cannot " conceal it from your lord- " ship's knowledge, because I " think this nobleman is known " unto you, having been used " as an ambassador to the king " catholic many years past by " this queen, as I have heard, " to require confirmation of " the treaties of amity betwixt " both their fathers." In Somers' Tracts, I. 443 This nobleman died at Horsley, in the county of Surrey, 19th Oct. 1592, and was buried at Coudray See Camden's Ann. pp. 12, 26, 51.

According to Watson, the old lord used to say, That if the pope himself should come in with cross, key, and gospel in his hand, he would be ready with the first to run unto his holiness, to cast himself down at his feet, to offer his service to him in all humbleness of heart, and what not, to shew himself a dutiful child; but if, instead of coming in solemn procession, with cross, book, prayers, and preaching, he should come in a sounding, royal march, with heralds of arms, with banners of blood

considerable opposition [d]. If any other artifice was used in cunning contriving the business, the protestants were not aforehand, but just even with the papists, who had used the same subtlety in their own cause in the first parliament of queen Mary. A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz.

10. But now to remove into the convocation, which at this time was very small and silent; for as it is observed in nature, when one twin is of an unusual strength and bigness, the other his partner born with him is weak and dwindled away; so here this parliament, being very active in matters of religion, the convocation (younger brother thereunto) was little employed and less regarded. Only after a mass of the Holy Ghost had been celebrated, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, (in the vacancy of the archbishop of Canterbury, president of the convocation,) began with a speech to this effect: that although it had been an ancient and laudable custom to begin such meetings of the clergy with a Latin sermon, yet such now was not to be expected, partly because the archbishop was dead, who was to design the preacher, and partly because they had received a mandate from the privy council that no The acts of this year's convocation.

displayed, trumpets, alarums, pikes, harquebusses, and men-at-arms, all marshalled in ranks and set in battle array, then would he be the first man in the field, armed at all points, to resist him in the face with all his might and power Quodl. p. 176.]

[c] [J. Feckenham.]

[d] [The dissentients among the prelates were Bonner, bishop of London, John White, bishop of Winton, Richard Pate, bishop of Worcester, Anthony Kitchin, bishop of Llandaff, Ralph Bayne, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, James Turberville, bishop of Exeter, Owen Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, Cuthbert Scot, bishop of Chester, John Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, and afterwards Thirlby, bishop of Ely, on his return to England. All of them were deprived the same year. But upon this subject the fullest information will be found in Strype's Annals, I. 57, sq.]

A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz. such sermons should be made in that church till they were further informed by the queen and her council [e]. In the third session, on Friday, Nicholas Harpsfield, doctor of Law [f] and archdeacon of Canterbury, was chosen referendary or prolocutor for the clergy [g], a place of some credit, but little pains to discharge, seeing the only remarkable thing which passed in this convocation was certain articles of religion, which they tendered to the parliament [h], which here we both transcribe and translate; requesting the reader not to begrudge his pains to peruse them, considering they are the last in this kind that ever were represented in England by a legal corporation in defence of the popish religion. And though error doth go out with a stink, yet it is a perfume that it does go out. We are so far from denying a grave to bury them, that we will erect this monument over the ashes of these dead errors [i].

[e] Liber Synod. Anno Dom. 1559, fol. 15, [in Corp. Christ. Coll. Camb. See Strype's Annals, I. 55.]

[f] Ib. fol 6.

[g] Fol. 8.

[h] To the bishops, that they might present them to the parliament, &c.

[i] Copied by me out of the original. [Wilkins IV. 179. This convocation began 24th Jan. 1559, when Dr. Henry Cole, vicar-general of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, presented their commission to Bonner, bishop of London, to Richard Pate, bishop of Worcester, and to Ralph Bayne, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who acted as moderators in the vacancy of the see of Canterbury. In the second session, Jan. 27th, Bonner made the speech here referred to. On Friday the 3rd of February, which was their third session, Henry Cole, dean of St. Paul's, and John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, presented in behalf of the lower house Nicholas Harpsfield for their prolocutor, and the convocation was adjourned to the Friday following, Feb. 10th; in which, being the fourth session, the bishop of London, &c., on the request of the prolocutor, Thomas Reynolds, John Harpsfield, and William Chedsey, advised the clergy to ad-

REVERENDI in Christo patres ac domini colendissimi. Quoniam fama publica referente ad nostram nuper notitiam pervenit, multa religionis Christianæ dogmata publico et unanimi gentium Christianarum consensu hactenus recepta et probata, ac ab apostolis ad nos usque concorditer per manus deducta, præsertim articulos infra scriptos in dubium vocari: Hinc est quod nos Cantuariensis provinciæ inferior secundarius clerus in unum, (Deo sic disponente ac serenissimæ dominæ nostræ reginæ, decani et capituli Cant. mandato, brevi parliamenti, ac monitione ecclesiastica solita declarata id exigente,) convenientes, partium nostrarum esse existimavimus, tum nostræ, tum eorum, quorum cura nobis committitur, æternæ saluti omnibus quibus poterimus modis prospicere. Quocirca majorum nostrorum exemplis commoti, qui in similia sæpe

" REVEREND Fathers in Christ, A.D. 1559.
" and our honourable lords. 1 Eliz.
" Whereas by the report of
" public fame it hath come unto
" our knowledge that many doc-
" trines of the Christian religion
" hitherto received and approved
" by the unanimous consent of
" Christian nations, and with
" joint agreement, as by hands
" deduced from the apostles unto
" us, (especially the articles un-
" der-written,) are now called
" into question: Hence it is that
" we, the inferior and secondary
" clergy of the province of Can-
" terbury, assembled in one body,
" (God so disposing it, and the
" command of our lady the
" queen's most excellent majesty,
" together with the mandate of
" the dean and chapter of Can-
" terbury, the parliament writ,
" and all due and wonted eccle-
" siastical monition declared so
" requiring it,) conceived it to
" belong unto us to provide for
" the eternal salvation both of
" ourselves and such as are com-
" mitted to our charge, by all
" means possible for us to obtain.
" Wherefore, stirred up by the

dress the queen, that no impost [ne quid oneris] should be laid upon them by the parliament then sitting; and that they should themselves advise about a subsidy. It was then adjourned to the 17th, thence to the 25th; on which the prolocutor presented the articles here printed, which were exhibited to the bishops on the 28th of the same month, to present to parliament. An abstract of the proceedings of this convocation will be found in Strype's Annals, I. 55. sq.]

A. D. 1559 1 Eliz

tempora inciderunt, fidem quam in articulis infra scriptis, veram esse credimus, et ex animo profitemur ad Dei laudem, et honorem officiique et amarum nostræ curæ commissarum exonerationem præsentibus duximus publice asserendam, affirmantes, et sicut Deus nos in die judicii adjuvet, asserentes;

" examples of our predecessors, " who have lived in the like " times, that faith which in the " Articles under-written we be- " lieve to be true, and from our " souls profess to the praise and " honour of God, and the dis- " charge of our duty, and such " souls as are committed unto " us, we thought in these pre- " sents publicly to assert, affirm- " ing and avowing, as God shall " help us in the last day of judg- " ment;

Primo, quod in sacramento altaris virtute Christi, verbo et a sacerdote debite prolato, assistentis, præsens est realiter sub speciebus panis et vini naturale corpus Christi, conceptum de Virgine Maria, item naturalis ejus sanguis.

" First, that in the sacrament " of the altar, by the virtue of " Christ's assisting, after the word " is duly pronounced by the priest, " the natural body of Christ con- " ceived of the Virgin Mary is " really present, under the species " of bread and wine, also his na- " tural blood.

Item, quod post consecrationem, non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Dei et hominis.

" Item, that after the consecra- " tion there remains not the sub- " stance of bread and wine, nor " any other substance, save the " substance of God and man.

Item, quod in missa offertur verum Christi Corpus, et verus ejusdem sanguis, sacrificium propitiatorium pro vivis et defunctis.

" Item, that the true body of " Christ and his true blood is " offered a propitiatory sacrifice " for the quick and dead.

Item, quod Petro apostolo et ejus legitimis successoribus in sede apostolica, tanquam Christi vicariis, data est suprema potestas pascendi et regendi ecclesiam

" Item, that the supreme power " of feeding and governing the " militant church of Christ, and " of confirming their brethren, is " given to Peter the apostle, and " to his lawful successors in the

Christi militantem et fratres suos confirmandi.

Item quod authoritas tractandi et definiendi de iis quæ spectant ad fidem, sacramenta et disciplinam ecclesiasticam hactenus semper spectavit et spectare debet tantum ad pastores ecclesiæ, quos Spiritus Sanctus ad hoc in ecclesia Dei posuit et non ad laicos.

Quam nostram assertionem, affirmationem et fidem, nos inferior clerus prædictus, ob considerationes prædictas vestris paternitatibus tenore presentium exhibemus; humiliter supplicantes, ut quia nobis non est copia hanc nostram sententiam et intentionem aliter illis quorum in hac parte interest notificandi, vos, qui patres estis, ista superioribus ordinibus significare velitis. qua in re officium charitatis ac pietatis (ut arbitramur) præstabitis, et saluti gregis vestri (ut par est) prospicietis, et vestras ipsi animas liberabitis.

" see apostolic, as unto the vicars A. D. 1559.
" of Christ. 1 Eliz.

" Item, that the authority to " handle and define such things " which belong to faith, the sa- " craments, and discipline eccle- " siastical, hath hitherto ever " belonged, and only ought to " belong, unto the pastors of the " church, whom the Holy Spirit " hath placed in the church of " God, and not unto laymen.

" Which our assertion, affirma- " tion, and faith, we, the lower " clergy aforesaid, to represent " for the aforesaid considerations " unto your fatherhoods by the " tenor of these presents; humbly " requesting that because we have " not liberty otherwise to notify " this our judgment and intention " to those which in this behalf " are concerned, you who are " fathers would be pleased to " signify the same to the lords " in parliament, wherein, as we " conceive, you shall perform an " office of charity and piety, and " you shall provide (as it is meet) " for the safety of the flock com- " mitted to your charge, and shall " discharge your duty towards " your own souls "

This remonstrance, exhibited by the lower house of convocation to the bishops, was, according to their requests, presented by Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, to the lord keeper of the broad seal of

A.D 1559 1 Eliz. England in the parliament [k]; and, as the said bishop in the eighth session reported, he generously and gratefully received it. But we find no further news thereof, save that in the tenth session an account was given in, by both universities, in an instrument under the hand of a public notary, wherein they both did concur to the truth of the aforesaid articles, the last only excepted.

The disputations betwixt the papists and protestants at Westminster.

11. But we may probably conceive that this declaration of the popish clergy hastened the disputation appointed on the last of March, in the church of Westminster, wherein these questions were debated [l]:

i. Whether service and sacraments ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue?

ii. Whether the church hath not power to alter ceremonies, so all be done to edification?

iii. Whether the mass be a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead?

Popish Disputants.

White, bishop of Winchester [m].
Watson, bishop of Lincoln.
Baine, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.
Scot, bishop of Chester.
Dr. Cole, dean of Paul's.
Dr. Langdale, archdeacon of Lewes.

[k] [Heath, archbishop of York, who was deprived in 1559, for non-compliance with the measures of the Reformation. See Burnet, II. 760. He was succeeded by the celebrated sir Nicholas Bacon.]

[l] [Fox, Acts, III. 979, sq. Burnet, Ref. II. 776. Strype's Annals, I. 87, who corrects the errors of Burnet's narrative.]

[m] There is some difference in the number and names of both parties. Mr Fox neither agreeth with Mr. Camden nor with himself.

Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury. A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz.
Dr. Chedsey, archdeacon of Middlesex.

Moderators.

Nicholas Heath, bishop of York.
Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal.

Protestant Disputants.

John Scory, late bishop of Chichester.
David Whitehead.
Robert Horne.
Edmund Guest.
Edwin Sands.
John Aylmer.
Edmund Grindall.
John Jewel [n].

[n] [Besides the persons here mentioned, Burnet adds to the popish disputants Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, and to the protestants Cox, the same, I suppose, who was afterwards made bishop of Ely. Hist. of Ref. II. 776. The same writer has also printed in his Collections (II. iii. No. 5.) a declaration of the proceedings of this conference, which began March 31, 1559, signed by the privy council, and which is still in the State Paper Office, and also printed by Wilkins, IV. 191. From this document it is evident that only eight persons were appointed on each side to conduct this conference, and that Oglethorpe's name should have been omitted by Burnet, and Cox's name substituted for that of Sands in the text; as Strype has also observed in his Annals, I. 87, where a very full account of this discussion will be found. The popish bishops were certainly placed in some difficulty, between appearing to desert their cause, and submitting to argue before a layman and those whom they considered heretics, but they acted inconsistently, to say the least, uttering their minds on the first day's conference, but refusing to do so, and abide by the orders agreed upon, on the second, for which the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were committed to the Tower. They urged in their own defence that they saw the multitude was enraged and prejudiced against them; that the lord keeper was their professed enemy; that the laity would be made judges in ecclesiastical matters; and that this dispute was undertaken, not to discover the truth, but afford a colour for the charges which were to be introduced Burnet, II. 783. It seemed but just also that the protestants, being opponents to the established order, should have begun the debate.]

A.D. 1559. 1 Eliz. The passages of this disputation (whereof more noise than fruit, and wherein more passion than reason, cavils than arguments) are largely reported by Mr. Fox. It was ordered that each side should tender their judgments in writing [o], to avoid verbal extravagancies, as also in English, for the better information of the nobility and gentry of the house of parliament, their auditors, and that the papists should begin first, and the protestants answer them. But in the second day's disputation this order was broken by the popish bishops, who, quitting their primacy to the protestants, stood peremptorily upon it, that they themselves would deliver their judgments last; alleging in their behalf the fashion of the schools, that because they had the negative on their side the others ought first to oppose; citing also the custom of the courts at Westminster, where the plaintiff pleadeth before the defendant, conceiving themselves in the nature and notion of the latter, because maintaining those opinions whose truth, time out of mind, was established. Chester, more open than the rest, plainly confessed that if the protestants had the last word, they would come off *cum applausu populi*, with applause of the people, which themselves, it seems, most desired; whereby it appears what wind they wished for, not what was fittest to fan the truth, but what would blow them most reputation. In this refusal to begin, Winchester and Lincoln behaved themselves saucily and scornfully, the rest stiffly and resolutely; only Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, (who, it seems, the second day was added to the popish disputants,)

[o] [The motion to this effect was made by Heath, archbishop of York. Strype, ib 88.]

carried it with more meekness and moderation. Hereupon the lord keeper cut off this conference, with this sharp conclusion: "Seeing, my lords, we "cannot now hear you, you may perchance shortly "hear more of us." A.D. 1559. 1 Eliz.

12. Yet need we not behold the frustration of this meeting as a private doom, peculiar to this conference alone, but as the general destiny of such public colloquies, which, like sycamore trees, prove barren, and which, the larger the leaves of the expectation, the less the fruits of success. The assembly dissolved, it were hard to say which were louder, the papists in complaining or the protestants in triumphing. The former found themselves aggrieved that they were surprised of a sudden, having but two days' warning to provide themselves; that Bacon, the moderator, (though well skilled in matters of equity, ignorant in matters of divinity,) was their zealous enemy, to whom the archbishop was added only for a stale; that to call such fundamental points of doctrine into question would cause an unsettledness in religion, of dangerous consequence both to single souls and to the church in general; that it was unlawful for them, owing obedience to the see apostolic, without leave of his holiness first obtained, to discuss these truths long since decided in the church. The papists complain of partial usage.

13. The protestants, on the other side, slighted the papists' plea of want of warning, seeing (besides that both sides were warned at the same time) that party sent a challenge, and gave the first defiance in their late declaration; and now it was senseless in them to complain that they were set upon unawares; that if the truths were so clear as they pretended, The protestants triumph on the other side.

A.D. 1559. 1 Eliz. and their learning so great as was reputed, little study in this case was required; that Bacon was appointed moderator, not to decide the matters controverted, but to regulate the manner of their disputation, whereunto his known gravity and discretion, without deep learning, did sufficiently enable him; that it was an old policy of the papists to account every thing fundamental in religion which they were loth should be removed; and that the receiving of erroneous principles into the church, without examination, had been the mother of much ignorance and security therein, for the preventing of the farther growth whereof no fitter means than an unpartial reducing of all doctrines to the trial of the scriptures; that their declining the disputation manifested the badness of their cause, seeing no paymaster will refuse the touch or scales but such as suspect their gold to be base or light; that formerly papists had disputed those points when power was on their side, so that they loved to have syllogisms in their mouths when they had swords in their hands.

Nine bishops now dead.

14. It remaineth now that we acquaint the reader how the popish bishops were disposed of, who now fell under a fourfold division:

i. Dead.	iii. Deprived.
ii. Fled.	iv. Continued.

There were nine of the first sort, who were of the death-guard of queen Mary, as expiring either a little before her decease, viz.

John Capon, bishop of Salisbury, [Oct. 6, 1557.]

Robert Parfew, bishop of Hereford, [Sept. 22, 1558.]

Maurice Griffin, bishop of Rochester [q], [Nov. 20, 1559.] A.D. 1559. 1 Eliz.

William Glyn, bishop of Bangor, [May 21, 1558.]

(These were queen Mary her ushers to her grave.)

Or a little after her departure, as

Reginald Pole, bishop of Canterbury, [Nov. 17, 1558.]

John Hopton, bishop of Norwich, [circiter 1557.]

John Brokes, bishop of Gloucester, [Sept. 7, 1558.]

John Holyman, bishop of Bristol, [circiter 1558.]

Henry Morgan, bishop of St. David's [r], [Dec. 23, 1559.]

(These were queen Mary's trainbearers to the same.)

15. Three only made their flight beyond the seas, namely, 1, Thomas Goldwell, of St. Asaph, who ran to Rome, and there procured of the pope the renewing of the indulgences, for a set time, to such as superstitiously repaired to the well of St. Winifred; 2, Cuthbert Scot, of Chester, who afterwards lived and died at Louvain; 3, Richard Pate, of Worcester [s], whose escape was the rather connived at, because, being a moderate man, he refused to persecute any protestant for his difference in religion. Three fled beyond the seas.

16. Be it here remembered that the see of Wor- A note of Worcester

[q] [See also Strype's An. I. 31.]

[r] [To this number may be added John Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, who died about 1557. Strype's An. I. 32, 82.]

[s] [See Wood's Ath. I. 707. He was also present at the council of Trent. Antony Munday, in his "English-Roman Life," chap. IV., printed in 1581, and reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, which gives an account of the author's travels to Rome, says that Goldwell had the office there of baptizing the converted Jews,—"maketh all the "English priests in the col-"lege, and liveth there among "the Florentines very pontifi-"cally."]

A.D. 1559. 1 Eliz. cester had nine bishops successively, whereof the four first, being all Italians, none of them lived there; the five last (Latimer, Bell, Heath, Hooper, Pate) none of them died there, as either resigning, removed, or deprived, and all five were alive together in the reign of queen Mary. As for Pate, we find him thus subscribing the council of Trent, "*Richardus Patus Episcopus Wigorniensis*," underwriting only in his private and personal capacity, having otherwise no deputation as in any public employment.

The rest restrained. 17. The third sort succeeds, of such who, on the refusal of the oath of supremacy, were all deprived, though not restrained alike. Bonner was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, a gaol being conceived the safest place to secure him from people's fury, every hand itching to give a good squeeze to that sponge of blood. White and Watson [t], bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, died in durance, their liberty being inconsistent with the queen's safety, whom they threatened to excommunicate.

A prison to be envied. 18. As for bishops Tunstall and Thirlby, they were committed to archbishop Parker [u]. Here they

[t] [Watson, after his short confinement in the Tower, was committed to the custody of Grindal, bishop of London, and afterwards to Cox, bishop of Ely. Both he and White gave offence by their opposition at the popish disputation. See Strype, Annals, I 90. Watson died in the prison at Wisbech, Sept. 27. 1584, and White in Jan. 1561.]

[u] [These two were not only the most eminent, but likewise the most liberal and generous of the popish prelates. The former had been harshly if not unjustly treated in the time of Edward VI.; and through the ambition of Northumberland, who was desirous to be made count palatine of Durham, committed to the Tower upon a charge of misprision of treason, (Strype's Cran. 414, Burnet, Ref III 393,) yet so far was he, in the succeeding reign, from joining in the severities exercised against the protestants, that he even protected

had sweet chambers, soft beds, warm fires, plentiful and wholesome diet, (each bishop faring like an archbishop, as fed at his table,) differing nothing from their former living, save that that was on their own charges, and this on the cost of another[x]. Indeed they had not their wonted attendance of superfluous servants, nor needed it, seeing a long train doth not warm but weary the wearer thereof. They lived in free custody; and all things considered, custody did not so sour their freedom as freedom did sweeten their custody. A.D. 1559. 1 Eliz.

19. The rest, though confined for a while, soon found the favour to live prisoners on their parole, having no other gaoler than their own promise. Thus Poole of Peterborough, Turberville of Exeter, &c. lived in their own or their friends' houses[y]. The like liberty was allowed to Heath, archbishop of York, who (like another Abiathar, sent home by Solomon to his own fields in Anathoth[z]) lived cheerfully at Cobham in Surrey, where the queen often courteously visited him. Some living in their own houses.

some from the punishments which they would otherwise have suffered but for his interference: among this number was the celebrated Bernard Gilpin, his nephew. Bishop Carleton's Life of Gilpin, 15, 40. Having lived in a continued intimacy with Cranmer (Burnet, II. 401) and his successor, Parker, who is said to have prevailed upon him to modify some of his religious opinions. Strype's Park I. 47. He died Nov 18, 1559. See Wood's Ath. I. 303.]

[x] [This is not probable. At all events, in the year 1563, when they requested, on account of the plague, to be removed from London, the council wrote to the archbishop to receive Thirlby and Boxal, his former guests, and "to give "them convenient lodging, "each of them one man al- "lowed them, and to use them "as was requisite for men of "their sort; *and that they "should satisfy his lordship "for the charges of their "commons*" See Strype's P. 141. Thirlby died Aug. 26, 1570.]

[y] [Strype's Park. 141-2.]

[z] 1 Kings II 26.

A.D. 1559. 1 Eliz.

Cruelty causelessly complained of.

20. Popish writers would persuade people that these bishops were cruelly used in their prisons, should their hyperbolical expressions be received as the just measure of truth. *Carceribus variisque custodiis commissi,—longo miseriarum tædio extincti sunt,* saith Sanders [a]; *Confessor obiit in vinculis,* saith Pitzeus, of White [b]: "A great cry, and a little "pain." Many of our poor protestants, in the Marian days, said less and suffered more. They were not sent into a complimental custody, but some of them thrust into the prison of a prison, where the sun shined as much to them at midnight as at noon-day; whereas abbot Feckenham, of Westminster, (who as a parliamentary baron may go in equipage with the other bishops,) may be an instance how well the papists were used after their deprivation; for he grew popular for his alms to the poor [c], which speaks the queen's bounty to him, in enabling him, a prisoner, to be bountiful to others [d].

[a] De Schism. Ang. p. 268.

[b] [De Script. p. 764.]

[c] Camden's Eliz. in hoc anno.

[d] [A pamphlet entitled "The "Execution of Justice in Eng- "land, &c" (printed in 1581,) speaking of queen Elizabeth's moderation to such of the papists as professed "loyaltie and "obedience to her majestie, "and offer readily in her ma- "jestie's defence to impugn "and resist any forreine force, "though it should come or be "procured from the pope him- "self," contains the following remarks: it says, "The "first and chiefest [of these] "by office was Dr Heth, "that was archbishop of York "and lord chancellor of Eng- "land in queen Mary's time, "who at the first coming of "her majesty to the crown, "shewing himself a faithful "and quiet subject, continued "in both the said offices, though "in religion then manifestly "differing; and yet was he "not restrained of his liberty, "nor deprived of his proper "lands and goods, but, leaving "willingly both his offices, lived "in his own house very dis- "creetly, and enjoyed all his "purchased lands during all "his natural life, until by very "age he departed this world, "[1579] and then left his house

21. Only one bishop conformed himself to the queen's commands, and was continued in his place, viz. Anthony Kitchin, alias Dunstan of Llandaff[e]. Camden calls him *sedis suæ calamitatem*, the bane of his bishopric, wasting the lands thereof by letting long leases, as if it were given to binominous bishops (such as had two names) to be the impairers of their churches, as may appear by these four contemporaries in the reign of king Henry the Eighth: A.D. 1559. 1 Eliz. One bishop continued.

" and living to his friends; an " example of gentleness never " matched in queen Mary's " time. The like did one D. " Poole, that had been bishop " of Peterborough, an ancient " grave person and a very quiet " subject. There were also " others that had been bishops, " and in great estimation; as " D. Tunstall, bishop of Dur- " ham, a person of great repu- " tation, and also whilst he " lived of very quiet behaviour. " There were also other, D. " White and D. Oglethorpe, " (one of Winchester, the other " of Carlisle,) bishops, persons " of courteous natures, and he " of Carlisle so inclined to " dutifulness to the queen's " majesty, as he did the office " at the consecration and coro- " nation of her majesty in the " church of Westminster; and " D. Thirleby and D. Watson, " yet living, (one of Ely, the " other of Lincoln,) bishops, " the one of nature affable, the " other altogether sour, and " yet living; whereto may be " added the bishop then of " Exeter, Turberville, an ho- " nest gentleman, but a simple " bishop, who lived at his own " liberty to the end of his life, " and some abbots, as M. Feck- " enham, yet living, a person " also of quiet and courteous " behaviour for a great time." " And most of them " and many other of their sort " for a great time were retained " in bishops' houses, in very " civil and courteous manner, " without charge to themselves " or their friends, until the " time that the pope began by " his bulls and messages to " offer trouble to the realm by " stirring of rebellion; about " which time only some of " those aforenamed, being " found busier in matters of " state tending to stir troubles " than was meet for the com- " mon quiet of the realm, were " removed to other more pri- " vate places." Printed in Somers' Tracts, I. 193. There is no truth in the statement that these divines were kept free from their own charge. From the very first the council had no desire to shew them any such lenity; for immediately on the conclusion of the disputation mentioned above they were condemned to pay very heavy fines. Strype, ib. 59. See also Strype's Park 47.]

[e] [Strype's Park. 148.]

A.D. 1559. 1 Eliz. John Capon, alias Salcot, spoiled Salisbury.
John Vesey, alias Harman, spoiled Exeter.
Robert Parfew, alias Warton, spoiled St. Asaph.
Anthony Kitchin, alias Dunstan, spoiled Llandaff[f].

I know what is pleaded for them, that physicians, in desperate consumptions, prescribe the shaving of the head (which will grow again) to save the life; and that these bishops, fearing the final alienation of their lands, passed long leases for the prevention thereof; though whether policy or covetousness most shared in them herein, we will not determine. Only I find a mediate successor of Kitchin's[g] (and therefore concerned to be knowing therein) much excusing him from this common defamation of wronging his see, because many forged leases are countenanced under the pretence of his passing the same.

A list of persons deprived.

22. As for the numbers of recusants which forsook the land at this time, the prime of them were Henry [Parker,] lord Morley, sir Francis Inglefield, Thomas Shelley, and John Gage, esqrs. As for the nuns of Sion and other votaries wafted over, we have formerly treated of them in our History of Abbeys. Nor were there moe than eighty rectors of churches, fifty prebendaries, fifteen masters of colleges, twelve archdeacons, twelve deans, with six abbots and abbesses, deprived at this time of their places throughout all England[h].

Matthew Parker de-

23. Now the queen and her council accounted it high time to supply the church of Canterbury, which

[f] [The account of the number of the deprived persons, as given in a MS. in the Cotton Library, varies a little from the statement given by Fuller. See Strype's Annals, I. 72.]

[g] Godwin in Presul. p. 612.

[h] [Strype's An III. 1. 408.]

hitherto had stood vacant a year and three weeks [i], with an archbishop. Dr. Matthew Parker is appointed for the place: born in Norwich, bred in Cambridge, master of, benefactor to, Bennet college there, chaplain to queen Anne Bollen, (a relation which, next his own merits, befriended him with queen Elizabeth for such high and sudden advancement,) then to king Henry the Eighth, dean of the college of Stoke juxta Clare, a learned and religious divine. He confuted that character which one gives of antiquaries, "that generally they are either superstitious or supercilious," his skill in antiquity being attended with soundness of doctrine and humility of manners. His book called *Antiquitates Britannicæ* hath indebted all posterity to his pen; which work our great critic [k] cites as written by Mr. Joscelin, one much employed in the making thereof. But we will not set the memories of the patron and chaplain at variance, who loved so well in their lives' time; nor needeth any writ of partition to be sued out betwixt them about the authorship of this book, though probably one brought the matter, the other composure thereof.

A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz. signed archbishop, his due commendation.

24. The queen had formerly sent order to Dr. [Nicholas] Wotton, dean of Canterbury, (an exquisite civilian, and therefore one who may be presumed critical in such performances,) and to the chapter there, to choose Matthew Parker their archbishop [l]; which within fourteen days after was by them accordingly performed [m]. This done, she directeth her letters patents, in manner and form following:

The queen her letter for his consecration.

[i] Reckoning from Pole's death to Parker's consecration. [Strype's Parker, 7-8.]

[k] Selden of Tithes, p. 256.

[l] [Strype's Park 52.]

[m] [It was expected by some that Dr Wotton would have been chosen in place of Parker,

A. D. 1559. 1 Eliz. "Elizabetha Dei Gratia, &c.[n] Reverendis in "Christo Patribus, Antonio Landavensi Episcopo, "Will. Barlow, quondam Bath. et Well. Ep., nunc "Cicestrensi electo, Joh. Scory quondam Cicestrensi "Episcopo, nunc electo Hereford., Miloni Cover- "dalio, quondam Exoniensi Episcopo, Johanni suffra- "ganeo Bedford. [o], Johanni suffraganeo Thetford., "Johanni Bale Ossorensi Episcopo.

"Quatenus vos, aut ad minus quatuor vestrum, "eundem Matthæum Parkerum in archiepiscopum "et pastorem ecclesiæ cathedralis, et metropoliticæ "Christi Cantuariensis prædictæ, sicut præfertur, "electum, electionemque prædictam confirmare, et "eundem magistrum Matthæum Parkerum in archi- "episcopum, et pastorem ecclesiæ prædictæ conse- "crare, cæteraque omnia, et singula peragere, quæ "vestro in hac parte incumbunt pastorali officio, "juxta formam statutorum in ea parte editorum, "et provisorum, velitis cum effectu, &c. Dat. sexto "Decembris, anno secundo Elizabethæ [p]."

(Strype's Park. 35;) and Izaac Walton, on the authority of Holinshed, affirms that the archbishopric was offered to Wotton, and refused. Life of Sir H. Wotton. It is very remarkable that in the congé d'élire, directed to the dean and chapter, no person was nominated by the queen, but they were permitted to proceed to the election of whomsoever they pleased.]

[n] Registrum Parkeri, tom. i. fol. 3 [Wilkins, IV 198.]

[o] [According to Strype, the name is miswritten Richard for John. Park. 54. John Hodgeskinne was undoubtedly suffragan of Bedford, and is so mentioned in the consecration papers in Wilkins, IV. 199.]

[p] [The queen's warrant for Parker's consecration was first directed to Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, and is still preserved among the ecclesiastical papers in the state paper office, where I have seen it. The letters here printed are those which were issued afterwards, when the first failed of their desired effect. At the time of the new archbishop's appointment he held no ecclesiastical preferment, for Stoke had been dissolved and forfeited to the king's use in 1 Ed. VI. (see Strype's Park. 22; and in the second year of queen Mary,

But the old bishop of Llandaff appeared not at the consecration, terrified, say the papists, by Bonner's threats, so as to absent himself, which others do not believe; for he that feared not the lion out of the grate, would he be frighted with the lion within the grate? If Bonner, when at liberty, could not deter him from taking the oath of supremacy, improbable it is that when now detained prisoner in the Tower he could dissuade him from his obedience to his sovereign. More likely it is that his absence, as also bishop Bale's and the suffragans of Thetford, was occasioned by their indisposition of body and infirmity of old age. A.D. 1559. 1 Eliz

25. But the other four bishops appeared, William Barlow, John Scory, Miles Coverdale, and John Hodgeskin, by whom Matthew Parker was solemnly consecrated in manner and form following [q]. The east part of the chapel of Lambeth was hung with tapestry [r], the floor spread with red cloth; chairs and cushions are conveniently placed for the purpose; morning prayer being solemnly read by Andrew Pierson, the archbishop's chaplain, bishop Scory went up into the pulpit, and took for his text, *The elders which are among you I exhort, who also am* The manner thereof.

like the rest of the married clergy, Parker was deprived of all spiritual preferment in the church.]

[q] [Fortunately an account of the archbishop's consecration, written in his own hand, is preserved in the state paper office, (Eccl. Pap. 1559—1565,) it is entitled "Rituum atque "ceremoniarum ordo in con- "secrando R^mo in Christo "Patre Matthæo Parker Can- "tuariensi Archiepiscopo, in "Saccho suo apud manerium "suum de Lamheth: die do- "minico xvii^o. viz. die mensis "Decembris, A D. 1559, ha- "bitus." Wilkins has published the same account, but from a different source. The whole of this matter rests upon so good a basis, and has been so clearly substantiated, that it argues the height of absurdity and ignorance to dispute it.]

[r] Regist. Parker. tom. i fol 9

A.D. 1559. 2 Eliz. *an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ*[s], &c. Sermon ended, and the sacrament administered, they proceed to the consecration: the archbishop had his rochet on, with Hereford, and the suffragan of Bedford; Chichester wore a silk cope, and Coverdale a plain cloth gown down to his ancles[t]. All things are done conformable to the book of ordination; litany sung, the queen's patent for Parker's consecration audibly read by Dr. Yale, he is presented, the oath of supremacy tendered to him, taken by him, hands reverently imposed on him, and all with prayers begun, continued, concluded. In a word, though here was no theatrical pomp to make it a popish pageant,—though no sandals, gloves, ring, staff, oil, pall, &c. were used upon him, yet there was ceremony enough to clothe his consecration with decency, though not to clog it with superstition.

The legality of his consecration

26. This his consecration is avowed most legal, both according to canon and common law. In the latter it was ordered by king Henry the Eighth[u] that an archbishop should not be consecrated but by an archbishop and two bishops, or by four bishops, in case an archbishop was wanting, as here it was performed. Object not that one of these four was but a suffragan, seeing such by the laws of the land[x] (though not able to vote as barons in parliament) had episcopal power to all purposes and intents. Neither cavil that Coverdale henceforward led a

[s] 1 Pet. v. 1.

[t] [Chichester was assisted by Nicholas Bullingham, archdeacon of Lincoln, and Edmond Guest, archdeacon of Canterbury, the archbishop's chaplains. State Papers, ib. The "cloth gown" was the puritan's garb.]

[u] Anno Regor 25.

[x] 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 14.

private life, being always a bishop *quoad characterem*, and for the present *quoad jus et titulum*, (Exeter, his former bishopric, being actually void by the deprivation of Turberville,) though refusing to be so *quoad possessionem*. As for the canonical part of his consecration, six of the most eminent doctors of that faculty England then afforded gave it under their hands that the same was exactly observed. A. D. 1559. 2 Eliz.

27. Yet notwithstanding all circumstances so solemnly performed, some impudent papists have raised a lie that Matthew Parker was consecrated *ad caput manni*, at the Nag's Head, a tavern in Cheapside[y]. Indeed they shew a place therein, just against the bar, so anciently arched, that an active fancy (which can make any thing of any thing) may make to itself a top or tester of a pulpit thereof, though the like thereunto may be seen elsewhere in the city. But that this lie of the Nag's Head was bred in a knave's brains doth plainly appear; for why should a rich man be a thief? Seeing all churches in England were equally open unto them to pick and choose at pleasure, why should they steal a clandestine consecration in a place so justly obnoxious to censure? Were not the Canaanites and Perizzites then in the land? Were not many prying papists then mingled amongst protestants? which consideration alone would command them to be cautious in their proceedings. Besides, that mock pulpit shewn The impudent lie of the Nag's Head.

y [The confirmation was performed at Bow church, in Cheapside, Dec. 9, 1559, Nicholas Bullingham acting as the archbishop's proxy. On their return from the ceremony, some of those who had been present are supposed to have dined at the Nag's Head tavern, and thus probably gave occasion to this scandal. See below, p. 293.]

A. D. 1559. 2 Eliz. at this day at the entrance of that tavern was inconsistent with the secresy, (which is said to be their design,) who would rather have made choice of an inner and more remote room for that purpose. But when once one Jesuit had got this shameless lie of the Nag's Head, I cannot say by the tail, but by the ears, instantly Champneys, Fitz-Simon, Parsons, Kellison, Constable, and all the whole kennel of them, bawl it out in their books to all posterity.

Neale's testimony (the sole witness thereof) confuted.

28. All the authority the papists produce for their Nag's Head consecration is ultimately resolved into the single testimony of one Thomas Neale, chaplain to bishop Bonner, and sometimes Hebrew professor in Oxford. But was this Neale known or unknown to the bishops pretended in this tavern assembly? If known, as most probable he was, (Bonner's chaplains bearing their master's mark, the indelible character of cruelty stamped upon them, as the wolf is too well known to the sheep,) it is utterly unlikely they would permit a person vowing open opposition to their proceedings to be present thereat. If Neale were unknown, the English bishops (whom the papists, though they call heretics, do not count fools) would not admit a stranger to their privacies of such importance, seeing commonly in such cases men's jealousies interpret every unknown face to be a foe unto them [z].

[z] [This calumny was examined and refuted by Mason, in his celebrated and learned work, De Ministerio Anglicano, in which he is said to have been assisted by bishop Overal; by bishop Bramhall, in his Vindication of the Church of England, and by Thomas Browne, of St John's College, Cambridge, in a book entitled "The "Story of the Ordination of "our first Bishops in Queen "Elizabeth's Reign, at the "Nag's Head Tavern, in "Cheapside, &c." Lond. 1731. See also Strype's Life of Parker, book II ch 1]

29. To the testimony of Neale one endeavours to twist the witness of John Stow to prove this Nag's Head consecration [a]; a silent witness, who says nothing herein, if either we consult his Chronicle of our kings or his Survey of London; he neither speaks words, nor makes any signs thereof. But (saith the Jesuit) Stow, though prudently omitting to print it, told the same to some of his private friends. I pray to whom, where, and when? and

A.D. 1559. 2 Eliz.

A silent witness pretended in vain.

[a] Champneius, p. 501 [The following is the title of this very rare book, which first gave currency to the fable of the Nag's Head: "*Anthonii "Champnæi, Angli, Sacræ fa-"cultatis Parisiensis Doctoris "Sorbonici, de Vocatione Mi-"nistrorum tractatus Quo "universos cujusvis prætensæ "reformationis ministros omni "penitus legitima vocatione "destitui contra Plessæum et "Fieldeum. Quo etiam præ-"sentis Angliæ Superintend-"entes, qui sedes Episcopales "invaserunt, non esse veros "Episcopos contra Masonum "et Godwinum clare ostendi-"tur. Unde tamen apud Re-"formistas nullam esse Eccle-"siam, nullam fidem, nullum "denique salutis medium mani-"feste deducitur" Lutetiæ Paris. 1618. It appears from the author's preface that this is his own Latin version of his English book, which he had written against Mason the previous year, which edition I have never seen.

With reference to this fable of the Nag's Head, Champneys states that he heard it from a third person, who heard it from Neale. But if there were any truth in this statement, how comes it that it was never alluded to in the writings of Harpsfield, Sanders, cardinal Allen, father Parsons, and other writers of the period? especially since, according to Champneys, all the priests confined in Wisbeach castle (that is to say, about thirty most influential persons among the Roman catholics, most of them the especial friends of cardinal Allen and father Parsons) were privy to the circumstance. Champneys, ib. 491. The tale carries with it its own refutation. But when, in addition to this, it is further considered that a formal and contemporary document of archbishop Parker's consecration exists in Lambeth palace, and a contemporary copy of the same is still preserved in the State Paper Office, the matter is placed beyond all doubt, and stamps the validity of archbishop Parker's consecration with as decisive and clear an evidence as any fact which history can produce]

A.D. 1559 2 Eliz. what credible witnesses do attest it? Be it referred to the ingenuity of our very adversaries whether their bare surmises, without any proof, be to be believed before the public records, faithfully taken when the thing was done, carefully preserved ever since, entirely extant at this day, and truly transcribed here by us. Besides, Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, not more famous for the coronet of a count than the crown of old age, alive in the latter end of the reign of king James, being requested of a friend whether he could remember Matthew Parker's consecration, gave an exact account of the same solemnly performed in Lambeth chapel, being himself an eyewitness thereof, and an invited guest to the great feast kept there that day; therefore the more observant of all particular passages thereat, because the said archbishop was related to him as a kinsman. Let such as desire further satisfaction herein consult learned Mason [b], (whom king James justly termed a wise builder in God's house,) who hath left no stones unturned to clear the truth, and stop the mouth of malicious adversaries. Let the papists therefore not be so busy to cast dirt on our bishops, but first fall on washing the face of their own pope, even John the Twelfth, whom an excellent author reporteth to have ordained a deacon in a stable, for which two cardinals reproved him [c]; and let these three stories be told together: that the empress Helen was the daughter of an hostler, that archbishop Cranmer himself was an hostler, and that our first bishops in queen Eliza-

[b] De Minist. Anglic. III. 8, 9, &c.

[c] Luitprandus [de rebus per Europam gestis, VI. 7.]

beth's days were consecrated in the Nag's Head. I say let these three be told together, because wise and good men will believe them together, as all coming forth of the forge of falsehood and malice. A. D. 1559. 2 Eliz.

30. Now, though we are not to gratify our adversaries with any advantages against us, yet so confident is our innocence herein, that it may acquaint the world with that small foundation on which this whole report was bottomed: every archbishop or bishop presents himself in Bow church, accompanied thither with civilians, where any shall be heard who can make any legal exceptions against his election. A dinner was provided for them at the Nag's Head in Cheapside [d], as convenient for the vicinity thereof; and from this spark hath all this fire been kindled, to admonish posterity not only to do no evil, but also in this captious age to refrain from all appearance thereof. Sees supplied with protestant bishops.

31. Parker, thus solemnly consecrated, proceeded, with the assistance of the aforesaid bishops, to the consecration of other grave divines; and not, as Sanders lewdly lies, that these new-elected bishops, out of good fellowship, mutually consecrated one another; some whereof were put into bishoprics void by the natural death, as Salisbury, Rochester, Gloucester, Bristol, Bangor; or by the voluntary desertion, as Worcester and St. Asaph; or by the legal deprivation of the former bishops, as all other sees in England. Suffice it at this time to present a perfect catalogue of their names, sees, with the dates of their consecrations, referring their commendable

[d] This the lord chancellor Egerton affirmed to bishop Williams.

A. D. 1559. 2 Eliz. characters to be set down when we come to their respective deaths:

Province of Canterbury.

1. Edmund Grindal, consecrated, London ... Dec. 21, 1559.
2. Richard Cox, ... Ely..... Dec. 21, 1559.
3. Edwin Sands, ... Worcester Dec. 21, 1559.
4. Rowland Merick, ... Bangor ... Dec. 21, 1559.
5. Nicholas Bullingham, ... Lincoln ... Jan. 21, 1560.
6. John Jewell, ... Salisbury Jan. 21, 1560.
7. Thomas Young, ... St. David's Jan. 21, 1560.
8. Richard Davies, ... St. Asaph Jan. 21, 1560.
9. Thomas Bentham, ... Cov. & Lich. Mar. 24, 1560.
10. Gilbert Barclay, ... Bath & W. Mar. 24, 1560.
11. Edmund Guest, ... Rochester Mar. 24, 1560.
12. William Alley, ... Exeter ... July 14, 1560.
13. John Parkhurst Norwich... Sept. 1, 1560.
14. Robert Horne Winchest. Feb. 16, 1561.
15. Edmund Scambler Peterboro' Feb. 16, 1561.
16. Richard Cheyney Gloucester Apr. 19, 1562.

Province of York.

1. Thomas Young, translated from St. David's to York Feb. 20, 1561.
2. James Pilkington, consecrated, Durham.. Mar. 2, 1561.
3. John Best, ... Carlisle... Mar. 2, 1561.
4. George Downham, ... Chester... May 4, 1561.

The other bishoprics were thus disposed of: Richard Cheyney held Bristol *in commendam* with Gloucester; Barlow and Scory, bishops in king Edward's days, were translated, the one to Chichester, the other to Hereford; as for the bishopric of Oxford, as it was void at this time, so it continued for some years after.

Mr. Gilpin refuseth the bishopric of Carlisle.

32. We must not forget how the bishopric of Carlisle was first proffered to Bernard Gilpin, that

patriarchal divine, rector of Houghton in the north, A. D. 1559. 2 Eliz
as may appear by the ensuing letter of Edwin Sandys, bishop of Worcester, wrote unto him [e]:

" My much and worthily respected cousin, having " regard unto the good of the church of Christ, " rather than to your ease, I have by all the good " means I could been careful to have this charge " imposed upon you, which may be both an honour " to yourself and a benefit to the church of Christ. " My true report concerning you hath so prevailed " with the queen's majesty, that she hath nominated " you bishop of Carlisle.

" I am not ignorant that your inclination rather " delighteth in the peaceable tranquillity of a private " life. But if you look upon the estate of the " church of England with a respective eye, you can- " not with a good conscience refuse this charge im- " posed upon you; so much the less because it is in " such a place as wherein no man is found fitter " than yourself to deserve well of the church. In " which respect I charge you before God, and as you " shall answer to God herein, that, setting all excuses " aside, you refuse not to assist your country, and to " do service to the church of God to the uttermost " of your power. In the mean while I give you to " understand that the said bishopric is to be left " untouched, neither shall any thing of it be dimi- " nished, (as in some others it is a custom,) but you " shall receive the bishopric entire, as Dr. Oglethorp " hath left it.

" Wherefore, exhorting and charging you to be

[e] Found amongst Mr. Gilpin's papers, after his death.

A. D. 1559. 2 Eliz. "obedient to God's call herein, and not to neglect "the duty of our own calling, I commend both "yourself and the whole business to the Divine "Providence.

"Your kinsman and brother,

[4 April, 1560.] "EDWIN WORCESTER."

But Mr. Gilpin desired to be excused, continuing unmovable in his resolution of refusal [f]; not that he had any disaffection to the office, as some do believe themselves, and would willingly persuade others, but because, as he privately confessed to his friends [g], he had so much kindred about Carlisle, at whom he must either connive in many things, not without hurt to himself, or else deny them, not without offence to them: to avoid which difficulties, he refused the bishopric. It was afterward bestowed (as in our catalogue) on Dr. John Best, a grave and learned divine; but whether on the same terms, without any diminution to the church, my author knew not [h], leaving us under a shrewd suspicion of the negative.

Why Barlow and Scory were not restored to their former bishopprics, conjectured.

33. If any demand of me why Barlow, formerly bishop of Bath and Wells, and Scory, bishop of Chichester, were not rather restored to their own than translated to other bishopprics [i], as certainly I do not know, so willingly I will not guess at the cause thereof, though I have leisure to listen to the

[f] [Strype thinks that Gilpin refused this bishopric on account of the great number of papists in the see, and the ignorance and ill-will of the prebends. Grind. p. 85.]

[g] Bishop Carleton in Gilpin's Life, p. 80. [Reprinted in (Bates') Vitæ Selectæ, p. 282.]

[h] Idem, p. 81.

[i] [They were confirmed in their new bishoprics Dec. 20, 1559, on St. Thomas's eve. Strype's Park. 65.]

conjectures of others herein. Some impute it to their own desires, (preferring fair paper before what was soiled with their ill success,) rather to begin on a new account than to renew their reckoning with those bishoprics where they had been interrupted with persecution; others ascribe it to the queen, herein shewing her absolute power of disposition and transposition of all prelates; at her pleasure crossing her hands, and translating Scory from Chichester to Hereford, Barlow from Bath and Wells to Chichester. A third sort resolve it on a point of the queen's frugality, (a virtue needful in a princess coming to a crown in her condition,) to get new first fruits by their new translations, which otherwise would not accrue by their restitutions. Sure I am none of these conjecturers were either of the bedchamber or council-board to the queen, acquainted with her intentions herein [k]. A.D. 1559. 2 Eliz.

[k] [For Barlow's translation to Chichester, sir John Harrington has given another and a very plausible reason. Speaking of the dilapidations in the see of Bath and Wells during the reign of Edward VI., he observes: "Scarce were five "years passed after Bath's "ruins, but as fast went the "axes and hammers to work "at Wells. The goodly hall, "covered with lead, (because "the roof might seem too low "for so large a room,) was "uncovered, and now this roof "reaches to the sky. The cha- "pel of our lady, late repaired "by Stillington, a place of "great reverence and anti- "quity, was likewise defaced; "and such was their thirst "after lead, (I would they had "drunk it scalding,) that they "took the dead bodies of bi- "shops out of their leaden "coffins, and cast abroad the "carcases, scarce thoroughly "putrified. The statues of "brass, and all the ancient "monuments of kings, bene- "factors to that goodly cathe- "dral church, went all the "same way, sold (as my author "writes) to an alderman of "London.—These things were, "I will not say done, I will say "at least suffered, by this bishop. "—But some will say to me, "why did he (Barlow) not sue "to be restored to this bishop- "ric at his return, finding it "vacant, but rather accepted "of Chichester? I have asked

A. D. 1559. 2 Eliz.

Why Coverdale resumed not his bishopric of Exeter.

34. As for Miles Coverdale, formerly bishop of Exeter, he never returned to his see, but remained a private minister to the day of his death. Indeed it was true of him, what is said of others, *He was as a firebrand plucked out of the burning*[1]; being designed to death by queen Mary, had not the seasonable and importunate intercession of Frederick king of Denmark redeemed him; and, although his dissenting in judgment from some ceremonies in our discipline is generally alleged as the cause of his not returning to his bishopric, yet more probable it is it was caused by his impotency, as may appear by his epitaph, which here we have thought fit to insert, as I took it from the brass inscription of his marble stone, under the communion-table in the chancel of St. Bartholomew's, behind the Exchange [m]:

" this question, and I have received this answer:—There remain yet in the body of Wells Church, about thirty feet high, two eminent images of stone, set there, as is thought, by bishop Burnell, that built the great hall there in the reign of Edward I, but most certainly long before the reign of Henry VIII. One of these images is of a king crowned; the other is of a bishop mitred: this king in all proportions resembling Henry VIII.; holdeth in his hand a child falling. The bishop hath a woman and children about him. Now the old men of Wells had a tradition, that when there should be such a king and such a bishop, then the church should be in danger of ruin. This falling child they said was king Edward; the fruitful bishop they affirmed was Dr. Barton, the first married bishop of Wells, and perhaps of England. [He also had a large family.] This talk being rife in Wells in queen Mary's time, made him rather affect Chichester at his return than Wells, where not only the things that were ruined, but those that remained, served for records and remembrances of his sacrilege." Harrington's Nugæ Antiq II. 146]

[1] Amos iv. 11.

[m] [Upon receiving this preferment, and requesting, upon plea of his inability, to have the first fruits, which amounted to

Hic tandem requiemque ferens, finemque laborum, A.D 1559. 2 Eliz.
Ossa Coverdalis mortua tumbus habet.
Exoniæ qui præsul erat dignissimus olim,
Insignis vitæ vir probitate suæ.
Octoginta annos grandævus vixit et unum,
Indignum passus sæpius exilium.
Sic demum variis jactatum casibus, ista
Excepit gremio terra benigna suo.

Obiit 1568, *Jan.* 20.

Now if Coverdale, anno 1568, was fourscore and one year of age, then at this very time when he consecrated Parker was he seventy-two years old, passing with *Jesse for an old man* [n]; yea, he had passed the *age of man* [o], and therefore henceforward, finding himself fitter for devotion than action, refused the resumption of his bishopric.

35. So much for the bishops. As for the inferior Mean ministers in

upwards of 60*l.*, released by the queen, he added, "that if poor "old Miles might be thus pro- "vided for, he should think this "enough to be as good as a "feast." So that it would seem from this that he had no wish for a bishopric; although without doubt he was neglected by the queen, as may be seen by the remarks of Grindal, who earnestly recommended him to the see of Llandaff, void about this time. See Strype's Gr. ib. I find his name however, among others, in a list preserved in the State Paper Office of such of the clergy as were apparently intended for promotion "Eccl. Papers, 1559—1565." But he never obtained preferment of any value, either on account of his not altogether conforming to the Church of England, or from his age and infirmities Besides which he was married, and that was by no means favourable to his promotion in Elizabeth's reign See Burnet's Ref. III. ii. 537, 539. In 1564, he was collated by Grindal, bishop of London, to the church of St. Magnus, at the foot of London Bridge, (where his bones now rest, since the late desecration of St. Bartholomew's), and by his influence with archbishop Parker, the payment of the first fruits was remitted. See Strype's Park. 148. Grind. 91.]

[n] 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

[o] Psalm xc.

A.D. 1559. 2 Eliz. clergy under them, the best that could be gotten were placed in pastoral charges. Alas! tolerability was eminency in that age: a rush candle seemed a torch, where no brighter light was ever seen before. Surely preaching now ran very low, if it be true what I read, that Mr. Tavernour [p], of Water-Eaton in Oxfordshire, high-sheriff of the county, came in pure charity, not ostentation, and gave the scholars a sermon in St. Mary's, with his gold chain about his neck and his sword by his side, beginning with these words [q]:

this age, as appears by Mr. Tavernour's sermon.

"Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's, in the "stony stage where I now stand [r], I have brought "you some fine biscuits, baked in the oven of cha- "rity, and carefully conserved for the chickens of "the church, the sparrows of the Spirit, and the "sweet swallows of salvation."

If England in our memory hath been sensible of a perfective alteration in her churches, if since she hath seen more learning in the people's pews than was then generally in the reader's desk, yea, preacher's pulpit, let God be more glorified in it, men more edified by it; seeing of late the universities have afforded more vine-dressers than the country could yield them vineyards. Yea, let us be jealous over ourselves with a godly jealousy, lest our ingratitude make us to relapse into the like ignorance and barbarism; for want of bread was not so much the

[p] [I find a license to preach granted to Richard Tavernour, 1551. Strype's Mem. II. 530.]

[q] In the preface to sir John Cheke's True Subject to the Rebel.

[r] [The stone pulpits used in those days. Some pulpits of this kind still remain in the university.]

suffering of those days, as fulness thereof hath lately been the sin of ours. A. D. 1559. 2 Eliz.

36. Great abuses being offered to the monuments of the dead, the queen thought fitting seasonably to retrench the increase of such impieties; and although (her proclamation being printed) the printing of her name thereunto had been of as much validity in itself, and of far more ease to her majesty, yet, to manifest her princely zeal therein, she severally signed each copy (and those numerous, to be dispersed throughout all her dominions) with her own hand; and seeing she begrudged not her pains to superscribe her name, I shall not think much of mine to transcribe the whole proclamation. A proclamation against defacers of monuments in churches.

"*Elizabeth*[s].

"The queen's majesty understanding that by the "means of sundry people, partly ignorant, partly "malitious or covetous, there hath been of late yeers "spoiled and broken certain ancient monuments, "some of metall, some of stone, which were erected "up as well in churches as in other publike places "within this realme, only to shew a memory to the "posterity of the persons there buried, or that had "been benefactours to the buildings or dotations of "the same churches or publique places, and not to "nourish any kinde of superstition; by which means

[s] [Entitled "A Proclamation "agaynst breakyng or defacing "of Monumentes of antiquitie, "being set up in churches or "other publique places for me- "mory, and not for superstition."] This proclamation was printed at London, in Paul's Churchyard, by Richard Jugg and John Cawood, printers to the queen. [The copy here printed was collated with an original preserved in the State Paper Office]

A. D. 1559. 2 Eliz. " not only the churches and places remain at this " present day spoiled, broken, and ruinated, to the " offence of all noble and gentle hearts, and the " extinguishing of the honourable and good memory " of sundry vertuous and noble persons deceased, " but also the true understanding of divers families " in this realm (who have descended of the blood of " the same persons deceased) is thereby so darkened, " as the true course of their inheritance may be " hereafter interrupted, contrary to justice, besides " many other offences that hereof do ensue, to the " slander of such as either gave or had charge, in " times past, only to deface monuments of idolatry, " and false fained images in churches and abbeys. " And therefore, although it be very hard to recover " things broken and spoiled, yet, both to provide " that no such barbarous disorder be hereafter used, " and to repaire as much of the said monuments as " conveniently may be, her majesty chargeth and " commandeth all manner of persons hereafter to for- " bear the breaking or defacing of any parcell of any " monument, or tombe, or grave, or other inscrip- " tion, and memory of any person deceased, being in " any manner of place; or to break any image of " kings, princes or noble estates, of this realme, or " of any other that have been in times past erected " and set up, for the only memory of them to their " posterity in common churches, and not for any " religious honour; or to break down or deface " any image in glass windows in any church, " without consent of the ordinarie, upon pain that " whosoever shall herein be found to offend, to be " committed to the next goale, and there to remain

" without baile or mainprise, unto the next coming A. D. 1559.
" of the justices for the delivery of the said goale; 2 Eliz.
" and then to be farther punished by fine or impri-
" sonment, (besides the restitution or reedification
" of the thing broken,) as to the said justices shall
" seem meet, using therein the advice of the ordi-
" nary, and, if need shall be, the advice also of
" her majesties councell in her starrchamber.

" And for such as be already spoiled in any
" church or chappell now standing, her majesty
" chargeth and commandeth all archbishops, bishops,
" and other ordinaries or ecclesiastical persons, which
" have authority to visit the same churches or chap-
" pels, to enquire by presentments of the curates,
" churchwardens, and certain of the parishioners, what
" manner of spoiles have been made sithence the
" beginning of her majesties raigne, of such monu-
" ments, and by whom; and if the persons be living,
" how able they be to repair and reedifie the same;
" and thereupon to convent the same persons, and
" to enjoyn them, under pain of excommunication,
" to repair the same by a convenient day, or other-
" wise, as the cause shall farther require, to notifie
" the same to her majesties councell in the starr-
" chamber at Westminster. And if any such shall be
" found and convicted thereof, not able to repair
" the same, that then they be enjoyned to do open
" pennance two or three times in the church, as to
" the quality of the crime and party belongeth,
" under like pain of excommunication. And if the
" party that offended be dead, and the executours
" of the will left, having sufficient in their hands
" unadministred, and the offence notorious, the ordi-

A. D. 1559. 2 Eliz. "narie of the place shall also enjoyn them to repair "or reedifie the same, upon like or any other con- "venient pain, to be devised by the said ordinarie. "And when the offender cannot be presented, if it "be in any cathedral or collegiate church, which "hath any revenue belonging to it, that is not par- "ticularly allotted to the sustentation of any per- "son certain or otherwise, but that it may remain "in the discretion of the governour thereof to be- "stow the same upon any other charitable deed, as "mending of highwayes or such like, her majesty "enjoyneth and straitly chargeth the governours and "companies of every such church to employ such "parcels of the said sums of mony (as anywise "may be spared) upon the speedy repaire or re- "edification of any such monuments so defaced or "spoiled, as agreeable to the original, as the same "conveniently may be.

"And where the covetousness of certain persons "is such, that as patrons of churches, or owners of "the personages impropriated, or by some other "colour or pretence, they do perswade with the "person and parishioners to take or throw down the "bells of churches and chappels, and the lead of "the same, converting the same to their private "gain, and to the spoile of the said places, and "make such like alterations, as thereby they seek "a slanderous desolation of the places of prayer, "her majesty (to whom, in the right of the crown "by the ordinance of Almighty God, and by the "laws of this realme, the defence and protection of "the church of this realme belongeth) doth ex- "pressly forbid any manner of person to take away

" any bells or lead of any church or chappel, [now A. D. 1559.
" used, or that ought to be used, with publique and 2 Eliz.
" divine service, or otherwyse deface any suche
" churche or chappell,] under pain of imprisonment
" during her majesties pleasure, and such farther fine
" for the contempt as shall be thought meet.

" And her majesty chargeth all bishops and ordi-
" naries to enquire of all such contempts done from
" the beginning of her majesties raigne, and to
" enjoyn the persons offending to repair the same
" within a convenient time; and of their doings in
" this behalf to certifie her majesties privie-councell,
" or the councell in the starr-chamber at Westmin-
" ster, that order may be taken herein.

" Given at Windsor, the 19th of September, the
" second year of her majesties raign."

Her princely care took this desired effect, that it stopped the main stream of sacrilege herein, though some by-rivulets thereof ran still in private churches, in defiance of all orders provided to the contrary.

The death and character of bishop Bale.

37. May the reader take notice, that hencefor-ward (God willing) we will set down at the end of every year the deaths of such eminent divines who deceased therein, though we find no funerals of any prime protestant in the two first years of the queen's reign. Her coming to the crown inspirited the weakest and oldest with vigorousness and vivacity for a time; and Divine Providence preserved them from blasting who were but newly replanted in their places. Only we conjecture that John Bale, bishop of Ossory, died about this time, we finding no future mention of his activity, which, if alive, could not conceal itself. Pity it is we cannot give the exact

A D. 1559. 2 Eliz. date of his death, who was so accurate in noting the deceases of others[e]; for this John Bale was he who, besides many other books, enlarged Leland, and continued the Lives of the English Writers. Born at Covehithe, near Dunwich, in Suffolk, bred in Cambridge, afterwards a Carmelite in Norwich, and ignorantly zealous in their superstitions, he was first converted to the knowledge of the gospel (as himself confesseth[f]) by the care of that worthy lord, Thomas lord Wentworth, of Nettlested in Suffolk; whereupon, to use his own expression, he was transported from his barren mount Carmel to the fair and fruitful vale of the gospel.

The persecutions which in his life he suffered.

38. Presently comes persecution. For his preaching of the gospel he is dragged from the pulpit to the consistory, before Lee, archbishop of York; and for the same cause was afterwards convented before Stokesley, bishop of London; but the lord Cromwell (much affected with the facetiousness of such comedies as he had presented unto him) rescued him from their paws by his power. After eight years exile in Germany, he was recalled by king Edward, and made bishop of Ossory in Ireland, where he remained but a short time[g]; for after the king's death he hardly escaped with his own life, (some of his servants being slain,) cast by tempest into Cornwall, taken by pirates, dearly redeemed, with much difficulty he recovered London, with more danger got over into Germany; whence returning, in the

[e] [He died in Nov. 1563, according to Strype. Park. 143.]

[f] De Scriptor. Britan. VIII. §. 100.

[g] [He did not return to his bishopric, but contented himself with a prebend of Canterbury. Strype's Park 63.]

first of queen Elizabeth, about this time he ended his life, leaving a scholar's inventory, moe books (many of his own making) than money behind him. A.D. 1559. 2 Eliz.

39. His friends say that Bale his pen doth zealously confute, such as are strangers to him conceive it doth bitterly inveigh, and his foes say it doth damnably rail on, papists and their opinions; though something may be pleaded for his passion. Old age and ill usage will make any man angry. When young, he had seen their superstition; when old, he felt their oppression. Give losers therefore leave to speak, and speakers to be choleric in such cases. The best is, Bale rails not more on papists, than Pits (employed on the same subject) on protestant writers; and (even set one against the other) whilst the discreet reader of both, paring off the extravagancies of passion on each side, may benefit himself in quietness from their loud and clamorous invectives [h]. Bale's passion endeavoured to be excused.

40. Pius the Fourth, being newly settled in the papal chair, thought to do something no less honourable than profitable to his see, in reducing queen Elizabeth (a wandering sheep worth a whole flock) to the church of Rome; in order whereunto, he not only was deaf to the importunity of the count of Feria, pressing him (for a private grudge) to excommunicate her, but also addressed Vincent Parpalia, abbot of St. Saviour's, with courteous letters unto her; the tenor whereof ensueth: The pope tampereth to reconcile the queen to the church of Rome.

[h] [There is nothing in Pitts equal to the vulgarity, coarseness, and gross indecency of Bale.]

A.D. 1560 2 Eliz. "To our most dear Daughter in Christ, Elizabeth "Queen of England.

"Dear daughter in Christ, health and apostolical "benediction. How greatly we desire (our pastoral "charge requiring it) to procure the salvation of "your soule, and to provide likewise for your ho- "nour, and the establishment of your kingdom "withall, God the searcher of all hearts knoweth, "and you may understand by what we have given "in charge to this our beloved son Vincentius Par- "palia, abbot of St. Saviours, a man well known "to you and well approved by us. Wherefore we "do again and again exhort and admonish your "highnesse, most dear daughter, that, rejecting evil "councellours, which love not you, but themselves, "and serve their own lusts, you would take the fear "of God into counsell with you, and, acknowledging "the time of your visitation, shew your self obe- "dient to our fatherly perswasions and wholsome "counsells, and promise to your self from us all "things that may make not only to the salvation of "your soul, but also whatsoever you shall desire "from us for the establishing and confirming of your "princely dignity, according to the authority, place, "and office committed unto us by God. And if "so be, as we desire and hope, you shall return into "the bosome of the church, we shall be ready to "receive you with the same love, honour, and re- "joycing, that the father in the gospel did his son "returning to him; although our joy is like to be "the greater, in that he was joyfull for the salvation "of one son, but you, drawing along with you all "the people of England, shall hear us and the whole

" company of our brethren (who are shortly, God A.D 1560.
" willing, to be assembled in a generall councell for 2 Eliz.
" the taking away of heresies) and so for the salvation
" of your self and your whole nation fill the universal
" church with rejoycing and gladnesse. Yea, you
" shall make glad heaven itself with such a memo-
" rable fact, and atchieve admirable renown to your
" name, much more glorious than the crown you
" wear. But, concerning this matter, the same Vin-
" centius shall deal with you more largely, and shall
" declare our fatherly affection toward you: and we
" intreate your majesty to receive him lovingly, to
" hear him diligently, and to give the same credit
" to his speeches which you would to our self.

" Given at Rome, at St. Peters, &c., the fifth
" day of May, 1560, in our first yeer."

What private proposals Parpalia made to her majesty, on condition she would be reconciled to Rome, is unknown. Some conceive the pope might promise more than he meant to perform; but would he perform more than he did promise, nothing herein had been effected. A bargain can never be driven where a buyer can on no terms be procured. Her majesty was resolute and unmovable in her religion; and yet some (not more knowing of councils, but more daring in conjectures, than others) who love to feign what they cannot find, that they may never appear to be at a loss, avouch that the pope promised to revoke the sentence against her mother Anne Boleyn's marriage, to confirm our English Liturgy by his authority, to permit the English the communion under both kinds, provided she would own the pope's primacy, and cordially unite herself to the

A. D. 1560. 2 Eliz. catholic church. Yea, some thousands of crowns (but all in vain) were promised to the effectors thereof; wherein his holiness, seemingly liberal, was really thrifty, as knowing such his sums, if accepted, would within one year return with an hundred-fold increase [h].

The contents of Scipio his letter to Mr. Jewell

41. Scipio, a gentleman of Venice, formerly familiar with Mr. Jewell whilst he was a student in Padua, wrote now an expostulating letter unto him, being lately made bishop of Salisbury; wherein he much admired that England should send no ambassador nor message, or letter to excuse their nation's absence from the general appearance of Christianity in the sacred council of Trent. He highly extolled the antiquity and use of general councils, as the only means to decide controversies in religion, and compose the distractions in the church, concluding it a superlative sin for any to decline the authority thereof.

The sum of Mr. Jewell's answer.

42. To this Mr. Jewell returned a large and solemn answer. Now although he wrote it as a private person, yet because the subject thereof was of public concernment, take the principal heads thereof:

Firstly, That a great part of the world professing the name of Christ (as Greeks, Armenians, Abessines, &c., with all the Eastern church) were neither sent to nor summoned to this council [i].

Secondly, That England's absence was not so great a wonder, seeing many other kingdoms and free states (as Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, princes

[h] [This is asserted by bishop Carleton, in his Thankf. Rememb. 12]

[i] See it at large at the end of the History of the Council of Trent

of Germany and Hanse-towns) were not represented in this council by any of their ambassadors. A.D. 1560. 2 Eliz

Thirdly, That this pretended council was not called according to the ancient custom of the church, by the imperial authority, but by papal usurpation.

Fourthly, That Trent was a petty place, not of sufficient receipt for such multitudes as necessarily should repair to a general council.

Fifthly, That pope Pius the Fourth, by whose command the council was re-assembled, purchased his place by the unjust practices of simony and bribery, and managed it with murder and cruelty.

Sixthly, That repairing to councils was a free act, and none ought to be condemned of contumacy if it stood more with their conveniency to stay at home.

Seventhly, That anciently it was accepted as a reasonable excuse of holy bishops absenting or withdrawing themselves from any council, if they vehemently suspected aught would be acted therein prejudicial to the truth, lest their (though not active) included concurrence might be interpreted a countenancing thereof.

Eighthly, Our English bishops were employed in feeding their flocks and governing their churches, and could not be spared from their charge without prejudice to their consciences.

Ninthly, The members of the council of Trent, both bishops and abbots, were by oath pregaged to the pope "to defend and maintain his authority "against all the world."

Lastly, In what capacity should the English clergy appear in this council? They could not as free persons, to debate matters therein, being precondemned for heretics by pope Julius. They would not come

A.D. 1560. 3 Eliz. as offenders, to hear the sentence pronounced against themselves which they had heard of before.

What effect this letter produced I find not; sure I am no papists as yet have made an effectual refutation of the reasons rendered therein.

Westminster College Church refounded by queen Elizabeth.

43. The bells of St. Peter's in Westminster had strangely rung the changes these last thirty years; within which time, first, it was a stately and rich convent of Benedictine monks; secondly, it was made a collegiate church of dean and prebendaries by king Henry the Eighth; thirdly, by the same king, it was made an episcopal see, and Thomas Thirlby (who, having wasted the church's patrimony, surrendered it to the spoil of courtiers) the first and last bishop thereof; fourthly, queen Mary reseated the abbot and monks in the possession thereof, who were outed after her death; lastly, this year queen Elizabeth converted it again into a collegiate church, founding therein maintenance for one dean, twelve prebendaries, as many old soldiers past service for alms-men, and forty scholars, who in due time are preferred to the universities: so that it hath proved one of the most renowned seminaries of religion and learning in the whole nation.

The pope trieth again, in vain, to seduce the queen.

44. Pope Pius, though unsuccessful in his addresses last year to the queen, yet was not so disheartened but that once more he would try what might be effected therein; to which purpose he employed the abbot of Martinegi with most loving letters unto her, desiring leave to come over into England. But the queen, knowing it less difficulty and danger to keep him than to cast him out of her dominions, forbade his entrance into the realm, as against the laws of the land; so that he was fain to

deliver his errand and receive his answer (and that a denial) at distance in the Low Countries. As little success had the bishop of Viterbo, the pope's nuncio to the king of France, secretly dealing with sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the queen's agent there, to persuade her to send ambassadors to the council of Trent; which, for the reasons afore-mentioned, was justly refused. A.D. 1561. 3 Eliz.

45. Sir Edward Carne, the queen's leger at Rome, doctor of civil law, knighted by the emperor Charles the Fifth, pretended that as the queen would not suffer the pope's nuncio to come into England, so the pope would not permit him to depart Rome; whereas, indeed, the cunning old man was not detained, but detained himself; so well pleased was he with the place, and his office therein, where soon after he died, the last leger of the English nation to Rome publicly avowed in that employment. The death of sir Edward Carne.

46. This year the spire of Paul's steeple, covered with lead, strangely fell on fire, attributed by several persons to sundry causes[k]: some that it was casually blasted with lightning; others that it was mischievously done by art magic; and others, (and they the truest,) done by the negligence of a plumber carelessly leaving his coals therein. The fire burnt for five full hours, in which time it melted all the lead of the church, only the stone arches escaping the fury thereof; but, by the queen's bounty and a collection from the clergy, it was afterwards repaired, Paul's steeple burnt down. [June 4.]

[k] [See a full account of the burning of St. Paul's in Strype's Grind. 53 sq., taken from the narrative of Peter Johnson, the bishop's registrar, who penned it by order of that prelate. See also Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, p. 133, ed. 1658.]

A. D. 1561. 4 Eliz. only the blunt tower had not the top thereof sharpened into a spire, as before [1].

Papists suckle in Merton College.

47. A petty rebellion happened in Merton College, in Oxford, (small in itself, great in the consequence thereof, if not seasonably suppressed,) on this occasion: some Latin superstitious hymns, formerly sung on festivals, had by order of the late warden, Dr. Gervays, been abolished, and English psalms appointed in their place. Now when Mr. Leach, a fellow in the house, on Allhallows'-day last had the book in his hand ready to begin the psalm, in springs one Mr. William Hall, a senior fellow, offering to snatch it from him with an intent to cast it into the fire, adding moreover that they would "no more "dance after his pipe [m]." This was done in the interval of the vacancy of the wardenship; for though John Man [n] was lawfully chosen to the place, yet Hall and his popish faction (whereof Mr. Potts, Mr.

[1] [See the letters of the queen and the archbishop for that purpose, in Wilkins' Conc. IV. 226. Strype's Park. 93. The queen gave, according to Stow, (Chron. p 357,) a thousand marks in gold and a thousand loads of timber towards its repair.]

[m] Manuscript Records of Cant. in Matthew Parker, p. 322.

[n] [He was originally of New College, from which he had been expelled for heresy, as it was then called, in 1540, or thereabouts. In 1565 he was made dean of Gloucester, having been appointed warden of Merton in 1562, by the influence of archbishop Parker, whose chaplain he had been, although he had never been a fellow or scholar. In 1567 he was sent ambassador to Spain, in which employment he acquired the nickname of Man-goose, in ridicule of Goose-man, (Guzman,) the Spanish ambassador. He translated the "Commonplaces" of Wolfg. Musculus, at that time a book in so great repute as to be required to be used by those in holy orders. Man died in 1568-9. See Wood's Hist. of Univ. an. 1562. Ath. I 366. Strype's Park. 228. Ann. I. 498.]

Benyon, and sir Appleby the leaders) opposed his admission. And whereas in this house great was the power of a senior fellow (especially in office) over the young scholars, Hall raised such a persecution against them, that it was penal for any to be a protestant. A.D. 1562. 4 Eliz.

48. Archbishop Parker, hearing hereof, summoneth Hall to appear before him, who cared so little for the same that some of his party plucked off the seal from the citation, which was affixed to the gates of the college; whereupon his grace made a solemn visitation of that college, wherein all were generally examined: Man confirmed warden, Hall justly expelled, his party publicly admonished, the young scholars relieved, papists curbed and suppressed, protestants countenanced and encouraged in the whole university. Are curbed by the archbishop his visitation. May 26.

49. A parliament[o] was called, wherein a bill passed for the assurance of certain lands assumed by the queen from some bishoprics during their vacation[p]; another for the restitution in blood of Jan. 11.

[o] Parliament Rolls, quinto Elizabethæ.

[p] [A most iniquitous act, shewing that the queen and her ministers cared little for the church except to suit their political purposes. By virtue of this act authority was given to the queen, on the avoidance of any archbishopric or bishopric, to take into her hands any of the temporal possessions thereof, recompensing the same with parsonages impropriate or tithes. As this act passed at the commencement of her reign, and all the sees were shortly after vacated, the queen had the opportunity of gratifying her courtiers with the best episcopal lands and revenues throughout England: a species of plunder in which she unsparingly indulged, visiting such of the bishops who attempted to resist such a spoliation with the weight of a Tudor's resentment. In lieu of what was taken from the bishoprics, parsonages, which had originally belonged to the monasteries, were made over to the sees; but many of them were burdened with decayed

A. D. 1563. 5 Eliz. Cranmer's children restored in blood.

the children of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury. Here fain would I be informed by some learned in the law what needed the restoring of those children, whose father was condemned and died only for heresy, which is conceived a personal crime, and not tainting the blood; for although this archbishop was first accused of high treason, yet it afterwards was waived, and he tried upon heretical opinions[r]. Except any will say, that because not solemnly and formally pardoned *in majorem cautelam*, such an act was not amiss, or else done not so much for the use of the living children as honour of their dead father.

An act for translating the Bible into Welsh.

50. A third bill passed for the translating of the Bible into the Welsh tongue, which since the Reformation may hitherto be said to have been read in Latin in their congregations, English being Latin to them, as in the most parishes of Wales utterly ununderstood[s]. This some years after was performed,

chancels and ruinous houses, and with the payment of various pensions. The tithes also were collected with great difficulty, and, being settled on the crown, could not be collected by the bishops without an express act for that purpose. See Strype's Annals, I. 96. Archbishop Parker, in conjunction with four other bishops, offered the queen a thousand marks a year during their lives not to use the liberty of this act; but to no effect, for she appointed a commission to survey the vacant bishoprics, to send certificates into the exchequer of the value of their several lands and revenues, and to consider what she should take into her own hands, and what impropriations and tithes should be granted instead. This commission consisted exclusively of laymen, that is, church robbers and plunderers]

[r] I have read that he was condemned of treason, (Crompton's Juris. Courts, fol. 2. b.,] which treason was released unto him; and yet he, saith Holinshed, excepted out of the general pardon: intricacies I understand not.

[s] [Richard Davies, bishop of St. David's, and William Salisbury, bishop of Man, were employed in 1565 in translating the Bible into Welsh. Strype's Park. 209.]

principally by the endeavours of William Morgan, doctor of divinity [t], afterwards bishop of Llandaff, and thence preferred to St. Asaph, but worthy for his work of better advancement. A. D. 1563. 5 Eliz.

51. In the convocation now sitting [u], wherein Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, was prolocutor, the nine and thirty Articles were composed. For the main they agree with those set forth in the reign of king Edward the Sixth, though in some particulars allowing more liberty to dissenting judgments: for instance, in this king's Articles it is said that it is to be believed that Christ went down to hell "to preach to the spirits there [x];" which last clause is left out in these Articles, and men left to a latitude concerning the cause, time, and manner of his descent. The Thirty-nine Articles compiled in convocation. Jan. 29.

52. Hence some have unjustly taxed the composers for too much favour extended in their large expressions clean through the contexture of these Articles, which should have tied men's consciences up closer in more strict and particularizing propositions, which indeed proceeded from their commendable moderation. Children's clothes ought to be made of the biggest, because afterwards their bodies will grow up to their garments. Thus the Articles of this English protestant church, in the infancy thereof, they thought good to draw up in general terms, foreseeing that posterity would grow up to fill the same: I mean these holy men did pru- Why favourably drawn up in general terms.

[t] Godwin, [De Præsul. p. 613. Strype's Park. 119.]

[u] [This convocation was assembled on the 12th of Jan 1563, and on the 16th of the same month Nowel was chosen prolocutor; and on the 29th the Thirty-Nine Articles were agreed to, and signed by the bishops. See the acts of this convocation, printed at length in Wilkins' Conc. IV. 232.]

[x] [The words of the article are "ad inferos descendisse."]

A. D. 1563. 5 Eliz. dently prediscover that differences in judgments would unavoidably happen in the church, and were loath to unchurch any, and drive them off from an ecclesiastical communion for such petty differences; which made them pen the Articles in comprehensive words, to take in all who, differing in the branches, meet in the root of the same religion [x].

Most confessors who composed the Articles.

53. Indeed most of them had formerly been sufferers themselves, and cannot be said in compiling these articles (an acceptable service, no doubt) *to offer to God what cost them nothing* [y], some having paid imprisonment, others exile, all losses in their estates, for this their experimental knowledge in religion; which made them the more merciful and tender in stating those points, seeing such who themselves have been most patient in bearing will be most pitiful in burdening the consciences of others.

English Articles and Trent Decrees contemporaries.

54. It is observable these Articles came forth much about the time wherein the Decrees of the Council of Trent were published, truth and falsehood starting in some sort both together, though the former will surely carry away the victory at long running; many of which Decrees begin with lying, and all conclude with cursing, thundering anathemas against all dissenters; whilst these our Articles, like the still voice, only plainly express the positive truth.

The Thirty-nine Articles confirmed by parliament.

55. But some nine years after, viz. anno 1571, the parliament confirmed these Articles so far, that

[x] [They were signed generally by the lower house of convocation, many of whom were Romanists. See Strype's Annals, I. 488. And for this the secular priests were afterwards taxed by the Jesuits See Father Parsons' Apologia pro Hierarchia, &c, p. 2]

[y] 2 Sam. xxiv. 24.

every clerk should, before the nativity of Christ next following, subscribe the same [z]; and hereafter every person promoted to an ecclesiastical living should, within a time prefixed, publicly in the time of divine service, read and profess his consent to the same, on pain of deprivation *ipso facto*, if omitted. A.D. 1563. 5 Eliz.

56. No lay person was required to subscribe, no magistrate, none of the commons, according to the severity in other places; for the persecuted church of English in Frankfort, in queen Mary her days, demanded subscription to their discipline of every man, yea, even of women; and the Scotch, in the minority of king James, exacted it of noblemen, gentlemen, and courtiers, which here was extended only to men of ecclesiastical function. Not that the queen and state was careless of the spiritual good of others, (leaving them to live and believe as they list,) but because charitably presuming that where parishes were provided of pastors orthodox in their judgments, they would, by God's blessing on their preaching, work their people to conformity to the same opinions. But only imposed on clergymen.

Some question there is about a clause in the twentieth Article, whether originally there, or since interpolated. Take the whole Article, according to the common edition thereof [a]: Query about the twentieth Article, whether shuffled in or no.

Twentieth Article of the Authority of the Church.

"The church hath power to decree rites or cere-
"monies, and authority in controversies of faith;

[z] See the Statutes, 13 Eliz. cap. 12. [a] P. 98.

A. D. 1563. 5 Eliz. "and yet it is not lawful for the church to ordain "any thing that is contrary to God's word; neither "may it so expound one place of scripture, that it "be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the "church be a witness and keeper of holy writ, yet, "as it ought not to decree any thing against the "same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce "any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation."

Take along with this the bitter invective of a modern minister [c], who thus layeth it on with might and main on the backs of bishops for some unfair practice herein, in an epistle of his written to the temporal lords of his majesty's privy council, reckoning up therein fourteen innovations in the church:

"The prelates, to justify their proceedings, have "forged a new article of religion, brought from "Rome, (which gives them full power to alter the "doctrine and discipline of our church at a blow,) "and have foisted it into the twentieth Article of "our church. And this is in the last edition of the "Articles, anno 1628, in affront of his majesty's "declaration before them. The clause forged is "this: 'The church (that is, the bishops, as they "expound it) hath power to decree rites and cere-"monies, and authority in matters of faith.' This "clause is a forgery fit to be examined and deeply "censured in the star-chamber; for it is not to be "found in the Latin or English Articles of Edward

[c] Mr Burton, in his Apology. [Quoted from archbishop Laud's speech in the star-chamber, delivered and printed in the year 1637. Reprinted in Franklin's Annals, p. 837 Rushworth's Collections, vol. III. App. p. 116.]

"VI. or queen Elizabeth, ratified by parliament. A.D 1563. 5 Eliz.
"And if to forge a will or writing be censurable
"in the star-chamber, which is but a wrong to a
"private man, how much more the forgery of an
"article of religion, to wrong the whole church, and
"overturn religion, which concerns all our souls."

57. Such as deal in niceties discover some falter- The accuser his first mistake.
ing from the truth in the very words of this grand dilator; for the Article saith that the church hath authority in *controversies* of faith. He chargeth them with challenging authority in *matters* of faith. Here some difference betwixt the terms; for matters of faith (which all ought to know and believe for their souls' health) are so plainly settled by the scriptures that they are subject to no alteration by the church, which notwithstanding may justly challenge a casting voice in some controversies of faith, as of less importance to salvation.

58. But to come to the main matter: this clause The dubious appearing of this clause.
in question lieth at a dubious posture, at *in* and *out*, sometimes inserted, sometimes omitted, both in our written and printed copies:

Inserted in	Omitted in
The original of the Articles, 1562-3, as appeareth under the hand of a public notary, whose inspection and attestation is only decisive in this case. So also anno 1593, and anno 1605, and anno 1612, all which were public and authentic editions.	The English and Latin Articles set forth 1571, when they were first ratified by act; and whose being, as obligatory to punishment, bears not date nine years before, from their composition in convocation, but henceforward from their confirmation in parliament.

A.D. 1563. 5 Eliz. And now, to match the credit of private authors in some equality, we will weigh Mr. Rogers, chaplain to archbishop Whitgift, inserting this clause in his edition, 1595, against Dr. Mocket, chaplain to archbishop Abbot, omitting it in his Latin translation of our Articles set forth 1617.

Archbishop Laud his opinion in the point.

59. Archbishop Laud, in a speech which he made in the star-chamber, inquiring into the cause why this clause is omitted in the printed Articles, 1571, thus expresseth himself [d]:

"Certainly this could not be done, but by the "malicious cunning of that opposite faction; and "though I shall spare dead men's names where I "have not certainty, yet, if you be pleased to look "back and consider who they were that governed "businesses in 1571, and rid the church almost at "their pleasure, and how potent the ancestors of "these libellers began then to grow, you will think "it no hard matter to have the Articles printed, "and this clause left out [e]."

I must confess myself not so well skilled in historical horsemanship as to know whom his grace designed for the rider of the church at that time: it could not be archbishop Parker, who, though discreet and moderate, was sound and sincere in pressing conformity; much less was it Grindal, (as yet but bishop of London,) who then had but little, and never much, influence on church matters. The earl

[d] [This is a most admirable speech, and deserves attentive perusal. It is one of the best defences of the archbishop's proceedings ever made.]

[e] In his Speech, made June 16th, 1637, p. 65, [and Franklin, ib. p. 845.]

of Leicester could not in this phrase be intended, who alike minded the insertion or omission of this or any other article. As for the nonconformists, they were so far at this time from riding the church, that then they first began to put foot in stirrup, though since they have dismounted those whom they found in the saddle. In a word, concerning this clause, whether the bishops were faulty in their addition, or their opposites in their subtraction, I leave to more cunning state-arithmeticians to decide. A D 1563. 5 Eliz.

60. One Article more we will request the reader to peruse, as the subject of some historical debates which thereon doth depend: An Article to confirm the Homilies made in king Edward his reign.

XXXV. *Article of Homilies.*

"The second Booke of Homilies, the severall titles "whereof we have joyned under this Article, doth "contain a godly and wholsome doctrine, and neces- "sary for these times, as doth the former Booke of "Homilies which were set forth in the time of "Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them "to be read in churches by the ministers diligently "and distinctly, that they may be understood of the "people."

See we here the homilies ranked into two forms: the first such as were made in the reign of Edward the Sixth, being twelve in number, of which the tenth (of obedience to magistrates) was drawn up at or about Kett's rebellion, in a dangerous juncture of time; for, as it is observed of the gingles or St. Anthony his fire, that it is mortal if it come once to

A D. 1563. 5 Eliz. clip and encompass the whole body, so, had the north-east rebels in Norfolk met and united with the south-east rebels in Devonshire, in human apprehension desperate the consequence of that conjuncture.

As also those in queen Elizabeth.

61. The second form of homilies are those composed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, amounting to one and twenty, concluding with one against rebellion; for though formerly there had been one in king Edward's days for obedience, yet this was conceived no superfluous tautology, but a necessary gemination of a duty in that seditious age, wherein dull scholars needed to have the same lesson often taught unto them.

The use of Homilies

62. They are penned in a plain style, accommodated to the capacities of the hearers, (being loath to say of the readers,) the ministers also being very simple in that age. Yet if they did little good, in this respect they did no harm, that they preached not strange doctrines to their people, as too many vent new darknesses in our days; for they had no power to broach opinions, who were only employed to deliver that liquor to them which they had received from the hands of others better skilled in religion than themselves.

Their authentical necessity questioned.

63. However, some behold these homilies as not sufficiently legitimated by this Article to be, for their doctrine, the undoubted issue of the church of England, alleging them composed by private men of unknown names, who may probably be presumed, at the best, but the chaplains of the archbishops under whom they were made. Hence is it that some have termed them homely homilies, others a popular dis-

course[f], or a doctrine useful for those times wherein they were set forth. I confess what is necessary in one age may be less needful in another; but what in one age is godly and wholesome doctrine (characters of commendation given by the aforesaid Article to the homilies) cannot in another age be ungodly and unhealthful, as if our faith did follow fashions, and truth alter with the times, like Achithophel his counsel, though good in itself, yet *not at some seasons*[g]. But some are concerned to decry their credits, as much contrary to their judgment, more to their practice; especially seeing the second homily

A. D. 1563. 5 Eliz.

[f] Mr. Mountague, in his Appello Cæsarem. [I suppose Fuller refers to chap. xxiii. of the Appeal, where Mountague expresses his opinion as to the different degree of authority which ought to be attributed to the Homilies and the Articles. "I willingly admit," he says, "the Homilies, as containing certain godly and "wholesome exhortations to "move the people to honour "and worship Almighty God; "but not as the *public dogmatical resolutions* confirmed of "the church of England. The "xxxvth Article giveth them "to contain 'godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary "for *these times*;' which they "may do, though they have "not dogmatical positions or "doctrine to be propugned and "subscribed in all and every "point, as the Books of Articles and of Common Prayer "have." Then, after comparing the Book of Articles and of Homilies respectively to the dogmatical and exhortatory writings of the early fathers, he adds, "We may do well, "then, to consider why, wherefore, when, and to what manner of men these popular sermons were made and do speak, "and not press every passage "hand over head for advantage." That Mountague's judgment is in accordance with the church of England is clear, not only from the words of the xxxvth Article already quoted, but also from the concluding passage of it; for if the Homilies were not intended for merely temporary purposes and the then state of the church, the clergy are certainly not justified in neglecting to read them in churches, as enjoined by the Article; if, therefore, it is to be taken in its stringent sense in one part, it must also in the other.

Fuller glances evidently at Mountague throughout this paragraph, but has either mistaken or misrepresented the question.]

[g] 2 Sam. xvii.

A.D. 1563. 5 Eliz. in the second book stands with a sponge in one hand to wipe out all pictures, and a hammer in the other to beat down all images of God and saints erected in churches; and therefore such use these homilies as an upper garment, girting them close unto or casting them from them at pleasure, allowing and alleging them when consenting, denying and disclaiming them when opposite to their practice or opinions.

Rastall writes against bishop Jewel.

64. The religion in England being settled according to these Articles, which soon after were published, the first papist that fell foul upon them was William Rastall, nephew to sir Thomas More by Elizabeth his sister, and a great lawyer. Yet we believe not him [h] that telleth us he was one of the two chief justices, as knowing the contrary [i]. However, he was very knowing in our common law; witness his collections of statutes and comments thereon, with other works in that faculty. But this *veteranus juris consultus* was *vix tyro theologus*, shewing rather zeal to the cause than ability to defend it in those books which he set forth against bishop Jewel [k].

The death of Dr Smith.

65. No eminent English protestant died this year, but great grief among the Romanists for the loss of Dr. Richard Smith, king's professor of divinity in

[h] Pitzæus de Scriptor. pag. 764.

[i] See sir Henry Spelman his Glossary in *Judic.*

[k] [Fuller has followed Pitts in a great error. Jewel's adversary was John Rastell, a Jesuit, and not William Rastell, the nephew of sir Thomas More. The latter was made one of the justices of the common pleas in the reign of queen Mary, but fled to Louvain at the accession of queen Elizabeth, where he died in the year 1565. See Wood's Ath. pp. 147, 306. Mori Hist. Soc. Jesu, p. 18]

Oxford till outed by Peter Martyr; whereupon he forsook the land, returned in the reign of queen Mary, went back after her death into the Low Countries, where he was made dean of St. Peter's in Douay, and appointed by king Philip the Second first divinity professor in that new-erected university. His party much complain that his strong parts were disadvantaged with so weak sides and low voice[1]; though indeed too loud his railing against the truth, as appears by his books. A. D. 1563. 5 Eliz.

66. The English bishops, conceiving themselves empowered by their canons, began to shew their authority in urging the clergy of their diocese to subscribe to the liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline of the church; and such as refused the same were branded with the odious name of puritans[m]. The original of puritans.

67. A name which in this notion first began in this year, and the grief had not been great if it had ended in the same. The philosopher banisheth the term, (which is *polysæmon,*) that is subject to several senses out of the predicaments, as affording too much covert for cavil by the latitude thereof. On the same account could I wish that the word *puritan* were banished common discourse, because so various in the acceptions thereof. We need not speak of the ancient *cathari*, or primitive puritans, sufficiently known by their heretical opinions. *Puritan* here was taken for the opposers of the hierarchy and church-service, as resenting of superstition. But profane mouths quickly improved this nickname, The homonymy of the term.

[1] Pitzæus de Ang. Script. pag. 761.

[m] [Not upon the authority of their canons, but in conformity to the queen's injunctions and the statute of uniformity. It was a mere state interference.]

A.D. 1564. 6 Eliz. therewith on every occasion to abuse pious people, some of them so far from opposing the liturgy that they endeavoured (according to the instructions thereof in the preparative to the confession) to accompany the minister with a *pure* heart, and laboured (as it is in the absolution) for a life *pure* and holy. We will therefore decline the word, to prevent exceptions, which, if casually slipping from our pen, the reader knoweth that only nonconformists are thereby intended.

Mr. Fox a moderate nonconformist.

68. These, in this age, were divided into two ranks[n]: some mild and moderate, contented only to enjoy their own conscience; others fierce and fiery, to the disturbance of church and state. Amongst the former I recount the principal, father John Fox, (for so queen Elizabeth termed him,) summoned, as I take it, by archbishop Parker to subscribe, that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to conformity.

[n] [See Strype's Grindal, book I. chap. xii. Fox could hardly be called a nonconformist He differed from the church of England in some points, but never separated himself from its communion. He asserted that the Book of Common Prayer was produced "through the aid of the Holy "Ghost." Acts II. 660. He further observes that no one rejected it but "old popish "curates, by whose cloaked "contempt, wilful winking, and "stubborn disobedience, the "Book of the Common Prayer "was, long after the publishing "thereof, either not known at "all, or else very irreverently "used through many places of "the realm." Ib. II. 663. How would the old martyrologist have been horrified to have seen the descendants of the self-righteous puritans adopting the rags of popery, as he irreverently called them! how much more to have found himself classed among a race of men of whom he has left this testimony on record, "Video "enim suborirı quoddam ho-"minum genus qui si invales-"cant, viresque in hoc regno "colligant piget hic referre "quid futuræ perturbationis "præsagit mihi animus." See Sect. III. §. 15.]

The old man produced the New Testament in Greek: "To this," saith he, "will I subscribe." But when a subscription to the canons was required of him, he refused it, saying, "I have nothing in the "church save a prebend at Salisbury, and much "good may it do you if you will take it away from "me." However, such respect did the bishops (most formerly his fellow-exiles) bear to his age, parts, and pains, that he continued his place till the day of his death; who, though no friend to the ceremonies, was otherwise so devout in his carriage, that (as his nearest relation surviving hath informed me) he never entered any church without expressing solemn reverence therein. A.D. 1564. 6 Eliz.

69. With Mr. Fox I join his dear friend Lawrence Humphrey, whom I should never have suspected for inclinations to nonconformity, (such his intimacy with Dr. Jewel and other bishops,) had I not read in my author that "*de adiaphoris non juxta cum "ecclesia Anglicana senserit*[o]." He was regius professor of divinity in Oxford, where his answers and determinations were observed quick, clear, and solid, but his replies and objections weak and slender, which his auditors imputed to no lack of learning, wherewith he was well stored, but to his unwillingness to furnish his popish adversaries with strong arguments to maintain their erroneous opinions. But such his quiet carriage, that notwithstanding his nonsubscribing, he kept his professor's place and deanery of Winchester as long as he lived. And Dr. Lawrence Humphrey.

[o] Camden's Elizabeth, in anno 1589. [Referring to his puritanism, the queen said to him, when she beheld him in his doctor's dress, at her visit to Oxford, "Domine doctor, "this loose gown becomes you "well, and therefore I wonder "that you are so *straight-laced* in your theological "opinions." Wood's Hist. of the Univ. an. 1566.]

A.D. 1564. 6 Eliz.

70. Pass we now to the fierce (not to say furious) sticklers against church-discipline [p], and begin with Anthony Gilby, born in Lincolnshire, bred in Christ's College in Cambridge. How fierce he was against the ceremonies, take it from his own pen [q]: "They "are known liveries of Antichrist, accursed leaven "of the blasphemous popish priesthood, cursed "patches of popery and idolatry; they are worse "than lousy, for they are sibbe to the sark of "Hercules, that made him tear his own bowels "asunder."

Anthony Gilby a fierce non-conformist.

71. William Whittingham succeeds, bred in All Souls College in Oxford, afterwards exile in Germany, where he made a preface to Mr. Goodman his book, approving the divinity therein; and, returning into England, was made dean of Durham [r].

And William Whittingham.

72. Christopher Goodman is the third; and well it were if it might be truly said of him, what of Probus the emperor, that he was *vir sui nominis*. Sure it is that, living beyond the seas in the days of queen Mary, he wrote a book stuffed with much dangerous doctrine [s]; wherein he maintained that "sir Thomas Wyat was no traitor [t]; that his cause "was God's: that none but traitors could accuse "him of treason; and that the counsellors and "others who would be accounted nobles, and took "not his part, were in very deed traitors to God,

And Christopher Goodman.

[p] [See Strype's Grindal, p. 170.]

[q] Pag. 150.

[r] Bale, Cent. IX. p. 731. [He versified several psalms, signed W. W. in Sternhold's Collection.]

[s] [Printed at Geneva, by John Crispin, 1558. 12mo. A and some account of its author, will be found in Strype's Annals, I. 123, 126. Goodman afterwards made a kind of recantation, which has been printed by Strype, ib 125.]

[t] ["How superior Powers "ought to be obeyed of their "Subjects," &c.,] pp. 203, 206,

"his people, and their country." These three (for David Whitehead I have no mind to mention with them) were certainly the *antesignani* of the fierce nonconformists [u]. Yet find I none of them solemnly silenced, either because perchance dead before this year, (wherein the vigorous urging of subscription,) or because finding some favour in respect of their suffering of banishment for the protestant religion. Only I meet with Thomas Samson, dean of Christ Church in Oxford, *qui propter puritanismum exhauthoratus* [v], displaced this year out of his deanery [x], notwithstanding the said Samson stands very high in Bale his catalogue of the English exiles in the reign of queen Mary. A.D. 1564. 6 Eliz.

73. Queen Elizabeth came to Oxford, honourably attended with the earl of Leicester, lord chancellor of the university, the marquis of Northampton, the lord Burleigh, the Spanish ambassador, &c. Here she was entertained with the most stately welcome which the Muses could make. Edmund Campion, then proctor, (oratory being his masterpiece,) well performed his part, only over-flattering Leicester [y], (enough to make a modest man's head ache with the too sweet flowers of his rhetoric,) save that the earl was as willing to hear his own praise as the other to utter it. Her highness was lodged in Christ Church, where many comedies were acted before The queen's entertainment at Oxford. [1566.]

[u] Note that these three were active in the separation from Frankfort. Vide supra, book IX. p. 9.

[v] Godwin de Præsul. p. . [He was removed by archbishop Parker. Wood's Ath. I. 239.]

[x] [Yet it appears that in 1567 Samson was still preaching in London, without wearing the habits Strype's Grind. p. 116.]

[y] [This oration is printed in Campion's Opuscula, p. 330, ed. 1631. Antv.]

A. D. 1564 6 Eliz. her; one whereof (Palæmon and Arcyte [z]) had a tragical end, three men being slain by the fall of a wall and press of people [a]. Many acts were kept before her in philosophy, and one most eminent in divinity, wherein bishop Jewel (this year in his absence created honorary doctor) was moderator. It lasted in summer-time till candles were lighted, delight devouring all weariness in the auditors; when the queen, importuned by the lords, (the Spanish ambassador, to whom she proffered it, modestly declining the employment,) concluded all with this her Latin oration:

Her highness' speech to the university.

"Qui male agit, odit lucem, et ego quidem quia "nihil aliud nisi male agere possum, idcirco odi "lucem, id est, conspectum vestrum. Atque sane "me magna tenet dubitatio, dum singula considero "quæ hic aguntur, laudemne an vituperem, taceamne "an eloquar. Si eloquar, patefaciam vobis quam "sim literarum rudis; tacere autem nolo, ne defec-"tus videatur esse contemptus. Et quia tempus "breve est quod habeo ad dicendum, idcirco omnia "in pauca conferam, et orationem meam in duas "partes dividam, in laudem et vituperationem. Laus "autem ad vos pertinet. Ex quo enim primum "Oxoniam veni, multa vidi, multa audivi, probavi "omnia. Erant enim et prudenter facta, et ele-"ganter dicta. At ea quibus in prologis vos ipsi "excusastis, neque probare ut Regina possum, neque "ut Christiana debeo. Cæterum quia in exordio "semper adhibuistis cautionem, mihi sane illa dis-

[z] ["Made by master Edwards, of the queen's chapel." Stow's Chron. p. 660. Wood's Ath. I. 151.]

[a] Stow's Chron. p. 660. [Wood, ib.]

" putatio non displicuit. Nunc venio ad alteram A.D 1564.
" partem, nempe vituperationem, atque hæc pars 6 Eliz.
" mihi propria est. Sane fateor parentes meos dili-
" gentissime curasse ut in bonis literis recte insti-
" tuerer, et quidem in multarum linguarum varietate
" diu versata fui, quarum aliquam mihi cognitionem
" assumo : quod etsi vere tamen verecunde dico.
" Habui quidem multos et doctos pædagogos, qui ut
" me eruditam redderent, diligenter elaborarunt.
" Sed pædagogi mei posuerunt operam in agro sterili
" et infœcundo, ita fructus percipere vix poterant,
" aut dignitate mea, aut illorum laboribus, aut vestra
" expectatione dignos. Quamobrem etsi omnes vos
" me abunde laudastis, ego tamen, quæ mihi conscia
" sum, quam sim nulla laude digna facile agnosco.
" Sed finem imponam orationi meæ barbarismis
" plenæ, si prius optavero, et votum unum addidero.
" Votum meum hoc erit, ut me vivente sitis floren-
" tissimi, me mortua beatissimi [b]."

Thus, having stayed seven days, she took her leave of the university, Mr. Williams the mayor riding in scarlet before her majesty to Magdalen bridge; but the doctors attending her in their formalities as far as Shotover.

[b] This speech was taken by Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, and by him printed in the Life of Bishop Jewel, p 244. [Reprinted also by Anthony Wood, as below. This visit of the queen has been antedated two years, and ought to have been referred to the year 1566 See Wood's Hist. of the University under that year. Whether Fuller was mistaken in the chronology of this period, or in that of the commencement of the next section, I cannot tell, as the dates are very carelessly printed in the old edition. I have endeavoured to correct them carefully throughout, not without much trouble.]

SECT. IV.

TO

WILLIAM HONEYWOOD, Esq.[a]

Some conceive that to be pressed to death (the punishment on recusants to submit to legal trial) is the greatest torment in the world. God keep all good men from feeling, and chiefly from deserving it. I am the easier induced to believe the exquisiteness of the torture, being sensible in myself, by your bounty, what a burden it is for one, who would be ingenuous, to be loaded with courtesies which he hath not the least hope to requite or deserve.

[a] [Arms. Argent, a chevron between three hawks' heads erased, azure.

A dedication to this gentleman is prefixed to the account of the tribe of Simeon in the Pisgah Sight, (Map, p. 224,) where his arms are tricked with his proper quarterings. "Wil- "helmo Honywood, armigero, "e familia, non generosa minus "quam numerosa oriundo, cu- "jus mellito nomini, suavissimi "mores conveniunt, amico suo "optimo, tabulam hanc, gra- "tiarum ergo destinat, T. F." He was the second son of sir Thomas Honeywood, knight, of Evington, Kent, and Jane, daughter of Edward Hales, of Tenterden, esq. In 1639 he was sheriff of London, and died in 1669, aged eighty-one. Hasted's Kent, iii. 309. I have not been able to discover whether he was ever married, but it seems not. His kinsmen, sir Robert and sir Thomas Honeywood, were violent espousers of the parliamentary cause. See Morant's Essex, II. 168]



IN this year began the suit betwixt Robert Horne, bishop of Winchester, and Edmund Bonner, late bishop of London, on this occasion: All bishops were empowered, by the statute *quinto Elizabethæ* [b], to tender the oath of supremacy to all persons living within their diocese [c]. Now bishop Bonner was within the diocese of Winchester full ill against his will, (as being a prisoner in the Marshalsea, in Southwark,) to whom Horne offered this oath, and he refused the taking thereof [d]. Here-

A.D. 1565. 7 Eliz.

The suit betwixt bishop Horne and Bonner.

[b] [5 Eliz. c 1, s. 5.]

[c] [This was the celebrated oath of supremacy enforced by parliament in the spring of 1563, which all archbishops and bishops were empowered to administer to their clergy. If any refused to take it, the bishop administering the oath was to certify this refusal into the King's Bench within forty days; and if within three months the parties still refused, they were subject to all the same penalties as for cases of high treason. Strype's Park. p. 124. Various persons (to their honour be it spoken) argued against this act, and if we may trust Strype, the archbishop himself was extremely averse to enforcing it. Ib. p. 125. But the queen and her council drove him on against his will, taunting him with being too soft and easy; the state thus shewing, as in the previous reign, no love for the church, except so far as the church might serve to promote its cruel and imperious designs]

[d] [Why Bonner should have been singled out for persecution, (for the rest of the popish clergy were not troubled by the oath at first,) I cannot divine. He was at that time a prisoner in the Marshalsea, in Southwark, and thus within the jurisdiction of bishop Horne against his will. He could hardly be said to come within the scope of the act, for he was surely not one of Horne's clergy. He must therefore have been subjected to this penalty, in order either to strike terror into the Romanists, (for Bonner had by far the most courage of them all,) or to gratify the party with whom Horne was not popular. However it might be, I cannot but reckon this a very needless piece of torment, of which the archbishop would never have been guilty. But Horne, who does not seem to have been naturally a man of amiable temper, and was twitted by both papist and puritan, (Fuller's Worthies, I. 482,) might wish to shew his sincerity, by this display of zeal against Bonner.]

A. D. 1565. 7 Eliz. upon his refusal was returned into the King's Bench, and he indicted on the same. Being indicted, he appeared there, confessed the fact, but denied himself culpable, and, intending to traverse the indictment, desired that counsel might be assigned him. Sir Robert Cateline, then chief justice, granted his motion; and no meaner than Plowden, that eminent lawyer, Christopher Wray, (afterwards lord chief justice,) and [William] Lovelace, were deputed his counsel [e].

Bonner his counsel, their first plea.

2. First, they pleaded for their client that Bonner was indicted without the title and addition of bishop of London, and only styled doctor of law, and one in holy orders; but the judges would not allow the exception as legal, to avoid the indictment.

Second exception.

3. Secondly, they pleaded that the certificate entered upon record was thus brought into the court, *tali die et anno per A. B. cancellarium dicti episcopi Winton.* and did not say *per mandatum episcopi;* for the want of which clause Bonner his counsel took exceptions thereat, *sed non allocatur,* because the record of it by the court is not of necessity.

Main matter debated by the judges.

4. Pass we by their third exception, that he was indicted upon that certificate in the county of Middlesex by the common jury of inquest in the King's Bench for that county; it being resolved by the judges that his trial could not be by a jury of Middlesex, but by a jury of Surrey, of the neighbourhood of Southwark. The main matter which was so much debated amongst all the judges in the lord Cateline his chamber was this:

[e] [See also the account of this trial in Strype, Annals, I. 378.]

"Whether Bonner could give in evidence of that A. D. 1566. 7 Eliz.
"issue that he had pleaded of not guilty, that
"Horne, bishop of Winchester, was not a bishop
"*tempore oblationis sacramenti* at the time wherein
"he tendered the oath unto Bonner."

And it was resolved by them all, that if the truth of the matter was so indeed, that he might give that in evidence upon that issue, and that the jury might try whether he was a bishop then or no [f].

5. Whilst this suit as yet depended, the queen called a parliament, which put a period to the controversy, and cleared the legality of Horne his episcopacy, in a statute [g] enacting "That all parsons that have been "or shall be made, ordered, or consecrate, arch- "bishops, bishops, priests, ministers of God's holy "word and sacraments, or deacons after the form [h] "and order prescribed in the said order and form "how archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and "ministers should be consecrated, made, and or- "dered, be in very deed, and also by authority "hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be, "archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers, and deacons, "and rightly made, ordered, and consecrated: any "statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrary "notwithstanding." Divided by the parliament.

6. However it immediately followeth, "Provided "always, and nevertheless be it enacted by the au- "thority aforesaid, that no parson or parsons shall A favourable proviso.

[f] Dyer, fol. 234. Mich. 6 et 7. Eliz. placito 15.

[g] [Eliz. c 1.]

[h] [That is, the form of consecration in the Common Prayer Book sanctioned by stat. 5 and 6 of Edw VI. c. 1. But this act, sanctioning the late episcopal appointments, was passed five years after the first moving of the controversy between Horne and Bonner.]

A. D. 1567. 8 Eliz. "at any time hereafter be impeached or molested in "body, lands, livings, or goods, by occasion or mean "of any certificate, by any archbishop or bishop "heretofore made, or before the last day of this "present session of parliament to be made, by virtue "of any act made in the first session of parliament, "touching or concerning the refusal of the oath "declared and set forth by act of parliament in the "first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady "queen Elizabeth: any thing in this act or any "other act or statute heretofore made to the con-"trary notwithstanding."

Their suit superseded.

7. The seasonable interposing of this statute made it a drawn battle betwixt Horne and Bonner. The former part thereof, here alleged, cleared Horne his episcopacy from all cavils of law; the latter proviso was purposely inserted in favour of Bonner, (who here himself found that which he never shewed to others,) that he, as all other popish bishops deprived, might be no more molested for refusing the oath of supremacy. The parliament saw they had already lost their livelihood and liberties for their erroneous consciences, and had received their thirty-nine stripes, more than which the state thought not fit to inflict, lest their justice should degenerate into cruelty.

Malice pleased nor full nor fasting.

8. The enacting of this statute did not stop the railing mouths of papists against our bishops, but only made them alter their note and change their tune in reviling them. Formerly they condemned them as illegal, whose calling was not sufficiently warranted by the laws of the land; henceforward Sanders and others railed on them for parliamentary bishops, deriving all their power and commission

from the state [i]. But as well might the Jesuits term Shemaiah, Nethaniah, prerogative Levites [j], because sent by Jehoshaphat to preach the word to the people of the land; for that good king did not give, but quicken and encourage their commission to teach, as here the parliament did only publish, notify, and declare the legal authority of the English bishops, whose call and consecration to their place was formerly performed, derived from apostolical, or at leastwise ecclesiastical institution. A.D. 1567. 8 Eliz.

9. These were the prime of the first set of puritans, which, being very aged, expired for the most part at or about this time, when behold another generation of active and zealous nonconformists succeeded them. Of these Coleman, Button, Halingham, and Benson, (whose Christian names I cannot recover,) were the chief, inveighing against the established church discipline, accounting every thing from Rome which was not from Geneva, endeavouring in all things to conform the government of the English church to the presbyterian reformation. Add these three more, though of inferior note to the aforesaid quaternion: William White, Thomas Rowland, Robert Hawkins, all beneficed within the diocese of London, and take a taste of their spirits out of the register thereof. The ringleaders of the second set of nonconformists.

10. For this very year these three were cited to appear before Edmund Grindal, bishop of London, one who did not run of himself; yea, would hardly answer the spur in pressing conformity. The bishop asked them this question: Their judgments of the queen.

"Have we not a godly prince? Speak, is she 'evil [k]?"

[i] De Schism. Ang. pag. 349. [j] 2 Chron. xvii. 8.

A.D. 1567. 8 Eliz. To which they made their several answers, in manner following:

William White. "What a question is that the "fruits do shew."

Thomas Rowland. "No, but the servants of God "are persecuted under her."

Robert Hawkins. "Why, this question the pro- "phet may answer in the Psalms: *How can they* "*have understanding that work iniquity, spoiling my* "*people, and that extol vanity*[1] *?*"

Wonder not, therefore, if the queen proceeded severely against some of them, commanding them to be put into prison, though still their party daily increased.

The death of Dr. Wotton.

11. Nicholas Wotton died this year, dean at the same time of Canterbury and York; so that these two metropolitan churches, so often contesting about their privileges, were reconciled in his preferment. He was doctor of both laws, and some will say of

[k] The Register of London, p. 33. [The full title of this rare and curious book is as follows. "Part of a Register "containing sundry memorable "Matters written by divers "godly and learned in our "time, which stand for and "desire the Reformation of "our Church in Discipline and "Ceremonies, according to the "pure Word of God and the "Law of our Land." No printer's name; no date. It was probably printed about the year 1586, but certainly never licensed; for it contains forty-two tracts written against the bishops and the discipline of the church, some of which were forbidden to be printed: as "The Unlawful Practice of "Prelates," by J. Penry. It is the most important collection of tracts, for displaying the temper and doctrine of the earlier puritans, of any ever formed, and furnishes unsuspicious evidence on these topics —that of the parties themselves.]

[1] [A detailed account of this conference is given by Strype, in his Life of Grindal, p. 114, sq. It is extremely characteristic of these despisers of dominion and evil speakers against dignities. Their Christian names will be found in Strype, ibid. 136.]

both gospels, who, being privy counsellor to king Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, never overstrained his conscience, such his oily compliance in all alterations. However, he was a most prudent man, and happily active in those many embassies wherein he was employed [m]. A.D. 1567. 8 Eliz.

12. The Romanists were neither ignorant not to observe, nor idle not to improve, the advantage lately given them by the discords betwixt the bishops and nonconformists; and now, to strengthen their party, two most active fugitive priests (Thomas Harding and Nicholas Saunders) return into England, and that episcopal power which they had lately received from the pope they largely exercised on the papists: Harding and Saunders bishopit in England.

i. Absolving all English in the court of conscience who returned to the bosom of their church.

ii. Dispensing with them in cases of irregularity, saving such which proceeded from wilful murder.

iii. Even from irregularity of heresy, on condition

[m] [Lloyd says of him, in his strange bantering way, "This "was that rare man that was "made for all business, so dex- "terous! This was he that "was made for all times, so "complying! This was he "who lived doctor of both "laws, and died doctor of both "gospels; the protestant which "had the statesman's part of "this man, and the popish "which had the Christian. "Noah had two faces, (being "called Bifrons,) because he "was a son of the old world "before the flood, and a father "of the new after. Wotton "sure had four faiths, who "was a favourite in king "Henry's days, of the council "in king Edward's, of the "juncto's in queen Mary's, "and the second statesman in "queen Elizabeth's." One thing this author adds, which is not of much weight, that Dr. Wotton, as being dean of Canterbury and the best civilian of the time, by admitting Dr. Parker to that see, must have recognised the legality of the archbishop's consecration. State Worthies, I. 122.]

A. D. 1568. 9 Eliz. that the party to be absolved refrained three years from the ministry of the altar [n].

Very earnest they were in advancing the catholic cause, and perverted very many to their own erroneous opinions.

Queen of Scots comes into England. May 17. 13. Mary queen of Scots, ill-used at home by her own subjects, made an escape into England, and landed at Wirkington in Cumberland; the state part of whose sufferings we leave to civil historians, confining ourselves to the imprinted passages concerning religion, beginning with her letter to the pope:

"Most holy Father [o],

Nov. 30. "After the kissing of your most holy feet, I "having been advertised that my rebels and their "fautours that retain them in their countries have "wrought so effectually by their practices, that it "hath been related unto the king of Spain, my lord "and good brother, that I am become variable in "the catholic religion, although I have within some "days past written to your holiness, devoutly to kiss "your feet, and recommending me unto you, I do "now again most humbly beseech you to hold me "for a most devout and a most obedient daughter "of the holy catholic Roman church, and not to "give faith unto those reports which may easily "come, or shall hereafter come to your ears, by "means of the false and calumnious speeches which "the said rebels and other of the same sect have "caused to be spread abroad, that is to say, that I

[n] Camd. Eliz. in this year.

[o] Her letter to pope Pius Quintus, (hitherto never printed,) the copy whereof was, with many other rarities, bestowed on me by James [Usher,] archbishop of Armagh. Translated out of the Italian. [It is printed in Catena's Life of Pius V, p. 301.]

" have changed my religion, thereby to deprive me A. D. 1568.
" of your holiness' grace, and the favour of other 10 Eliz.
" catholic princes. The same hath touched my heart
" so much, that I could not fail to write again of
" new to your holiness, to complain and bemoan
" myself of the wrongs and of the injuries which
" they do unto me. I beseech the same most
" humbly to be pleased to write in my favour to the
" devout Christian princes and obedient sons of your
" holiness, exhorting them to interpose their credit
" and authority which they have with the queen of
" England, in whose power I am, to obtain of her
" that she will let me go out of her country, whither
" I came, secured by her promises, to demand aid of
" her against my rebels; and if nevertheless she
" will retain me, by all means yet that she will
" permit me to exercise my religion, which hath
" been forbidden to me, for which I am grieved and
" vexed in this kingdom, insomuch as I will give you
" to understand what subtleties my adversaries have
" used to colour these calumniations against me.
" They so wrought that an English minister was
" sometimes brought to the place where I am straitly
" kept, which was wont to say certain prayers in the
" vulgar tongue; and because I am not at my own
" liberty, nor permitted to use any other religion, I
" have not refused to hear him, thinking I had com-
" mitted no error. Wherein nevertheless, most holy
" father, if I have offended or failed in that or any
" thing else, I ask *misericordia* of your holiness,
" beseeching the same to pardon and to absolve
" me, and to be sure and certain that I have never
" had any other will than constantly to live the most
" devout and most obedient daughter of the holy

A.D. 1568. 10 Eliz. "catholic Roman church, in which I will live and "die according to your holiness' advices and pre- "cepts. I offer to make such amends and penance "that all catholic princes, especially your holiness, "as monarch of the world, shall have occasion to "rest satisfied and contented with me. In the mean "time I will devoutly kiss your holiness' feet, praying "God long to conserve the same for the benefit of "his holy church.

"Written from Castle Bolton [p], the last of No- "vember, 1568.

"The most devout and obedient
"Daughter to your Holiness,
"The Queen of Scotland, Widow of France,
"MARIA."

I meet not with the answer which his holiness returned unto her, and for the present leave this lady in safe custody, foreseeing that this her exchange of letters with foreign princes, and the pope especially, will finally cause her destruction.

The death of Thos. Young, archbishop of York.

14. Thomas Young, archbishop of York, died at Sheffield, and was buried in his own cathedral. He plucked down the great hall at York, built by Thomas, his predecessor, five hundred years before; so far did *plumbi sacra fames* (desire to gain by the lead) prevail with him. Yet one presumeth to avouch that all that lead in effect proved but dross unto him, being in fine defeated of the profit thereof [q]. He was the first protestant English bishop that died in the days of queen Elizabeth [r].

June 26.

[p] The lord Scroop his house in Yorkshire, where sir Francis Knowles was her keeper.

[q] Sir J. Harrington, [II. p 231. See a further account of him in Wood's Athen. I. 696.]

[r] [His conduct, to all appearance, was not very commend-

15. Thomas Piercy, earl of Northumberland, and Charles Nevill, earl of Westmoreland, brake out into open rebellion against the queen; lords of right noble extraction and large revenue, whose titles met with their estates in the northern parts, and indeed the height of their honour was more than the depths of their judgment. These intended to restore the Romish religion, set free the queen of Scots, pretending much zeal for the liberty of the people and honour of the nation, complaining of queen Elizabeth her neglect of the ancient nobility, and advancing mean persons to the places of highest trust and command; though indeed, could she have made her noblemen wise, as she did her wise men noble, these earls had never undertaken this rebellion. Numerous their tenants in the north, and their obligations the higher for the low rent they paid; though now, alas! poor souls, they paid a heavy fine, losing their lives in the cause of their landlords[s]. A. D. 1569. 11 Eliz. The rebellion of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland.

16. Their first valour was to fight against the English Bible and service-book in Durham, tearing them in pieces; and, as yet unable to go to the cost of saying mass, for want of vestments, they More superstitious than valiant.

able. See the censure passed upon him by his successor, archbishop Grindal, in Strype's life of that prelate, p. 172.]

[s] [See a full account of this northern rebellion in Strype's An. I. 583, sq. Grind. 138, sq. Sanders, in his narrative of this rising, says that the people were instigated to it by a certain priest, Dr. Nicholas Morton, an Englishman; "unum ex presbyteris qui pœnitentiis indicendis Romæ præerant;" and that he was sent for this purpose into England by Pius V. De Visibili Monarchia, p. 706. Undoubtedly one of the chief instigators of it was the queen of Scots, who, finding by the imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk that she could not regain her freedom, despatched a secret message to the two earls, to assist her in her purpose by effecting a general rising. See Dodd's Church Hist. III. p 6, n., and sir Cuthbert Sharp's memorials of this plot, taken from authentic papers.]

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz. began with the cheapest piece of popery, holy water; their wells plentifully affording water, and Plumtree the priest quickly conferring consecration [t]. Afterwards, better provided, they set up mass in most places where they came; Richard Norton, an ancient and aged gentleman, carrying the cross before them, and others bearing in their banners the five wounds of Christ, or a chalice, according to their different devices [u]. No great matter was achieved by them, save the taking of Baynard's Castle, in the bishopric, which indeed took itself in effect, the defenders thereof being destitute of victuals and provisions.

Nov. 20

Routed by the queen her forces.

17. But hearing how the garrisons of Carlisle and Berwick were manned against them on their backs, and the earl of Sussex [x] advancing out of the south with an army to oppose them, their spirits quickly sunk; and being better armed than disciplined, wanting expert commanders, (how easily is a rout routed!) they fled northwards, and mouldered away without standing a battle.

An Italian author reckoning without his host.

18. An Italian author [y], writing the life of pope Pius Quintus, giveth us this brief account of this expedition:

"They did not overrun the kingdom as they ought "to have done, and followed after Elizabeth, for "which they could not have wanted followers "enough; but they stood still, and not being able "to maintain themselves long in the field for want "of money, they finally withdrew themselves into "Scotland without any thing doing."

[t] [Afterwards executed for the same. See Sanders, ib. p. 708.]

[u] Stow's Chron. p 662.

[x] [Thomas Ratcliffe.]

[y] [Vita del glor. Papa Pio V., scritta da Girol. Catena. Romæ, 1587, p. 115.]

So easy it is for this author's fancy (which scaleth the highest walls without ladders, gaineth the straitest passes without blows, crosses the deepest rivers without bridge, ford, or ferry) to overrun England; though otherwise this handful of men (never exceeding six hundred horse and four thousand foot) were unlikely to run through other shires, who could not stand a blow in their own county. A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz.

19. Northumberland fled into Scotland, lurked there a time, was betrayed to earl Murray, sent back into England, and beheaded at York [z]. Westmoreland made his escape into Flanders, (the wisest work that ever he did,) where he long lived very poor on a small and ill-paid pension [a]. Many were executed by sir George Bowes, knight marshal, every market town being then made a shire town for his assizes betwixt Newcastle and Witherby, (about sixty miles in length and forty in breadth [b],) much terrifying those parts with his severity; insomuch that when, next year, Leonard Dacre [c] put Northumberland, with many more of the rebels, executed.

[z] [Morton, who succeeded Murray as regent, delivered him up to the queen for a sum of money. Dodd, III. 9. He was beheaded August 22nd, 1572.]

[a] [A very unfavourable character is given of the earl, in a pamphlet entitled "Execution "for Justice, and not for Re-"ligion," published in 1583, and supposed to be written by lord treasurer Burleigh But as it is the production of one politically opposed to the earl, and not very scrupulous in his political conduct, it ought not to carry much weight with it. Speaking of those who were engaged in various risings and conspiracies against the queen, the writer says, "Out of Eng-"land fled Charles Nevill, earl "of Westmoreland, a person "utterly wasted by looseness "of life, and by God's punish-"ment, even in the time of "his rebellion, bereaved of his "children that should have "succeeded him in the earl-"dom; and how his body is "now eaten with ulcers of lewd "courses all his companions do "see, that no enemy he had "can wish him a viler punish-"ment."]

[b] Stow's Chron. p 664.

[c] [Second son of William lord Dacre, of Gillesland. See the occasion of this rebellion in

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz. together the ends of the quenched bands of this rebellion, with intent to rekindle them, they would not take fire; but by the vigilancy and valour of the lord Hunsdon his design was seasonably defeated.

The execution of Dr. Story. 20. John Story, doctor of law, a cruel persecutor in the days of queen Mary, (being said for his share to have martyred two or three hundred,) fled afterwards over into Brabant, and because great with duke D'Alva, (like cup, like cover,) he made him searcher at Antwerp for English goods [d]; where, if he could detect either Bible or heretical books (as they termed them) in any ship, it either cost their persons imprisonment or goods confiscation [e]. But now, being trained into the ship of Mr. Parker, an Englishman, the master hoisted sail, (time and tide, wind and water consenting to that design,) and over was this tyrant and traitor brought into England; where, refusing to take the oath of supremacy, and professing himself subject to the king of Spain, he was executed at Tyburn; where, being cut down half dead, after his privy members were cut off [f], he rushed on the executioner, and gave him a blow on the ear, to the wonder (saith my author) of all the standers by; and I, who was not there, wonder more that it was not recounted amongst the Romish miracles [g].

Carleton's Thank. Rememb. 25 He also escaped into the Low Countries, and died in a poor estate at Louvain.]

[d] [Camden, ann 1569, 1571.]

[e] Fox, Acts and Mon vol. III. p. 1023.

[f] Fox, ut prius.

[g] [A very interesting account of Dr. Story and his execution, (written by a protestant who witnessed his sufferings,) will be found in Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus. The writer seems astonished that Dr. Story should have so fully professed his only hope in Christ's merits for his justification and salvation. It contains also the best exculpation of Story's conduct during queen Mary's reign.]

21. The old store of papists in England began now very much to diminish and decay, insomuch that the Romanists perceived they could not spend at this rate out of the main stock, but it would quickly make them bankrupt. Prisons consumed many, age moe, of their priests, and they had no place in England whence to recruit themselves. The largest cistern with long drawing will grow dry, if wanting a fountain to feed the daily decay thereof. Hereupon they resolved to erect colleges beyond the seas, for English youth to have their education therein; a project now begun, and so effectually prosecuted, that within the compass of fifty years nine colleges were by them founded and furnished with students, and they with maintenance, as by the following catalogue may appear, as they stood at the last year of king James. Since, no doubt, they have been enlarged in greatness, increased in number, enriched in revenues, as such who shall succeed us in continuing this story may report to posterity. May they at my request, if having the conveniences of leisure and instructions, be pleased to perfect this my catalogue, and replenish the vacuities thereof with their more exact observations. And let no papists laugh at our light mistakes, protestants not pretending to such exact intelligence of their colleges as they have of ours; indeed they have too critical instructions of all our English societies by their agents living amongst us; and it is a bad sign when suspicious persons are over-prying to know the windows, doors, all the passages and contrivances, of their neighbours' houses, as intending therein some design for themselves.

A.D. 1569. 12 Eliz.

The original of the English colleges beyond the seas.

A. D. 1569 12 Eliz.	*College.*	*Founder.*	*Benefactors.*	*Means.*
[Colleges abroad 1. Douay.]	1. Douay College, in Flanders, founded 1568. Thence (for fear of the wars) removed to Rheims in France, about 1578, where Henry the Third, king of France, did patronise and protect them; and some 20 [or rather 15] years after brought back hither again [h]	Philip the Second, king of Spain	All the recusants in England.	A pension [of 2000 crowns] out of the king of Spain's treasury, which being sometimes but badly paid, the scholars are fain to feed on patience. [It was totally withdrawn on the removal of Dr. Worthington in 1613.] 2. A yearly collection from the catholics of England. 3. Sale of masses, rich men's mortuaries, which also are the staple maintenance of all other colleges [i].

Number.	*Rectors.*	*Eminent Scholars.*
Uncertain, but numerous; for here they do not pick and choose for wit or wealth, as in other colleges, but they receive all that come unto them [In 1580 there were no less than 112 convictors in the house Dr. Barret was rector in 1595.]	1. William Allen, (afterwards cardinal, a principal procurer and advancer of this foundation He died 1594. 2 Thomas Worthington, (of an ancient family in Lancashire,) rector 1609 3 Matthew Kellison, (a Northamptonshire man,) rector 1624. Note, That whereas the government of all other English colleges belongs to Jesuits, this only is ruled by secular priests.	Dr. Webb, whom they brag to be the best casuist in the world He lived to sing his Mass of Jubilee, having been a priest full fifty years.

[h] [Sanders de Schism. Ang. p. 364, et in App p. 98. In the year 1713 there was published a pamphlet, now very rarely met with, entitled "The "History of the English Col- "lege at Douay, from its first "Foundation in 1568 to the "present Time, &c. Collected "from original Manuscripts, "Letters, and unquestionable "Informations upon the Place. "By R. C., Chaplain to an "English Regiment that "marched in upon its surren- "dering to the Allies." To this an Answer was published the same year by Keirn.

See also Dodd's Church History, III. p. 158. One of the chief advancers of this foundation was Dr. John Vandevelt, regius professor of the canon law in the university of Douay; and the first person who gave a sum of money towards purchasing a house for the purpose was Morgan Philips, late provost of Oriel.]

[i] [According to Dodd, their

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz.

College.	*Founder.*	*Benefactor.*	*Means.*
2. College of Rome, founded 1579 [l].	Gregory the XIIIth, pope, exhibited maintenance, first to six, then to fourteen, at last to threescore scholars therein, to the yearly value of four thousand crowns	Owen Lewis, referendary apostolical, [archdeacon of Cambray,] was a principal promoter thereof	The Welsh Hospital in Rome, (founded and endowed many hundred years since by Cadwallader, king of Wales, for Welsh pilgrims,) with the rich lands thereof, conferred by pope Gregory the XIIIth on this college They have at Frescata, (which is the pope's summer house, lying some ten miles east of Rome,) three or four farms, where corn for the college and other provision groweth [m].

[2 Rome.]

Number.	*Rectors.*	*Eminent Scholars.*
One hundred at the least; but Italian air not well agreeing with English bodies, they bury yearly ten or twelve of their freshmen. Note, That whereas, anno 1576, there were but thirty old priests remaining in this realm, these two colleges alone, within few years, sent above three hundred priests into England [n]	1. Dr. Maurice [Clenock] He was removed out of his place for being too favourable to his countrymen, the Welsh [o]. [1579. Alphonso Agazzari 1594. Jerome Fioravante 1595. Mutius Vitelleschi. 1596. Alph Agazzari.] 2 Ferdinando, a Neapolitan Jesuit, succeeded him. (?) 3. Robert Persons, rector for twenty-three years, from 1587 to 1610, when he died. 4 Thomas Fitzherbert, one of great age and parentage, rector 1623.	Francis Monfort, who, anno 1592, being to depart the college for England, took his farewell of pope Clement the Eighth, with so passionate a Latin oration [p] that it fetched tears from the tender heart of his holiness This Monfort, some months after, was executed in England.

only *certain* income is an annual pension of 2000 crowns paid by the pope. Ib. 161]

[l] [Sanders ut supra Dodd, ib. 167]

[m] [According to Dodd, its yearly revenue amounted to 1800*l.* Ib. 169, n.]

[n] [One of their own writers says that the colleges at Rheims and Rome were the most famous; the former supporting two hundred, the latter seventy students. Bagshaw, Decl. Motuum, &c p. 82. He also states, in reply to the boast of the Jesuits who claimed the merit of building many seminaries for the education of Roman catholics, that the evils which had been inflicted by them on the seminaries of Douay and Rome, built by the influence of cardinal Alan, were by no means counterbalanced by the foundation of new colleges; that fewer priests were now sent into England from

A.D. 1569 12 Eliz.

the whole combined than originally from the two only. Formerly any persons were admitted into these seminaries, whatever might be their birth or circumstances; but that the Jesuits (in 1601) had altered things so much for the worse, that the number of scholars at Douay, including doctors and servants, (doctoribus et famulis,) was limited to sixty, and students only of good family and fortune were received. The students in the Roman college, according to the same authority, had also decreased from seventy to forty; and the Jesuits ruled throughout all these institutions, which was productive of much dissension, and greatly prejudicial to the success of the Roman catholic cause. Bagshaw, ib. pp 83, 84. But these observations, as proceeding from a violent enemy of the Jesuits, must be received with caution]

[q] [Such also is Ant Munday's account of the quarrel, in his English-Roman Life, chap. VI., reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. II p. 198, ed. 1809. But Watson, a secular priest, attributes the removal of Morrice to the plots and ambition of the Jesuits, "which "was nothing else," he observes, "but a canvas to dis- "grace that reverend prelate "Dr. Lewis, a Welshman born, "afterwards bishop of Cassana, "by putting master Morrice "from the rectorship of that "college whereunto Dr. Lewis "had preferred him: the which "college was first founded as "an hospital by Briton and "after English-Saxon kings "and princes of this land, for "the relief of such as went on "pilgrimage to visit those holy "places dedicated unto God's "saints and servants by the "memorable martyrdom of "thirty-three popes, betwixt "St Peter and St Silvester "the First, under whom the "catholic Roman church had "peace and perfect quiet. This "hospital, being now translated "into a college by Dr. Lewis's "means, then archdeacon to "the bishop of Cambray, and "refendary to the pope, at that "time was enriched with the "pension of an abbacy by Gre- "gory XIII., of all holy me- "mory, at what time as car- "dinal Allen erected the col- "lege at Rheims in France, "for the same end." Quodlibets, p. 2; see also pp. 96, 97; and this is supported by Lewis Owen in his Running Register, p 18, who had himself been a Jesuit. The Jesuits' own account of the matter will be found in the fifth chapter of Father Parsons' Apology, written against the secular priests, and in More, p. 56.

Further information touching the foundation of these societies will be found in Bridgewater's Concertatio, p. 251, sq, and in Ribadeneira's Appendix to Saunders, De Schismate Anglicano.]

[p] Sanders de Schism. Angl. in Append p. 119 Image of both Churches, 470, [by P.D.M., that is, Mat Pattison, a Romanist. (See Wood's Ath. II. 763.) The first edition was printed at Tornay, 1623; the second at London, 1653.] Sanders de Schism. Angl. pag. 365.

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz.

[Valladolid.]

College.	*Founder.*	*Benefactors.*	*Means.*
3. College of Valladolid, in Old Castile, founded 1589 q.	Philip the Second, king of Spain.	Dona Luysa de Caravajal, a rich widow lady in Spain, gave all her estate (being very great) to this college, and came over into England, where she died [Gaspar de Quiroga, cardinal of Toledo] [The duchess of Feria.] [Don Alphonso de Quinones] [Don Francisco de Mendoza, bishop of Jaca]	Lands they have not purchased much in Spain, being loth the Spaniard should take notice of their wealth; but great sums of money they have at use in Brabant As also with English factors in Spain, perverted to their persuasion, they have a great stock in trading. [Annual income, 4000 crowns]

Number.	*Rectors.*	*Eminent Scholars* r
They are fewer now than formerly, ever since the Spanish court was removed by Philip the Third from Valladolid to Madrid.	[1 Dr. Stillington] [2. Father Cecilano] [3 Pedro de Guzman] Father Walpole, if not rector, was principal actor herein about the year 1605; when, by pretending to have gained Mr. Pickering Wotton (son and heir to lord Wotton) to the Romish church, he got above five hundred pound to his college s.	

q [Sanders de Schism. Ang. in App. p. 102. Dodd, ib p. 174. All these colleges were founded with a view of providing fitting instruments for the conversion of England to the Roman catholic faith, and were greatly indebted to the zeal and activity of father Parsons But the college of Valladolid was the first to produce a handsel of the desired harvest, sending out annually twelve missionaries into England immediately after its foundation. According to father Parsons, this was the occasion of the severe edict passed against the Jesuits in the year 1591. Andreæ Philopatri Responsio ad edictum Elizabethæ, &c., p. 6, ed. 1593]

r [The number of the students in this seminary was at first no more than four; afterwards they increased to thirty-six, (Strype's An. IV. 99;) and in the year 1596 they amounted to sixty See Juvenc. Hist. Soc. Jesu, p. 160. Father Parsons wrote a little book in Spanish, giving an account of the college, and the end of its foundation. This work he dedicated to the king's daughter, and thus increased the fame of the institution. Strype, ib. Of this book I have never been able to find

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz. Know that sir Francis Inglefield, privy counsellor to queen Mary, forsaking his fair estate in Berkshire, in the first of queen Elizabeth, fled beyond the sea. He afterwards was a bountiful benefactor to the college at Valladolid; yea, he is beheld by the English papists as a benefactor-general to their nation, for the privileges he procured them from pope Gregory the Thirteenth, whereof hereafter. He lieth buried in this college, and his grave is shewn with great respect to travellers of our country coming thither.

[Seville.]

College.	*Founder.*	*Benefactors.*	*Means.*
4. College of Seville, founded 1592 [t].	Philip the Second, king of Spain	Our English merchants and factors there residing, even often against their own wills, to secure themselves from the searchers in the inquisition So that it is a *nemo scit*, what here is gotten for a *ne noceant*. [The bishop of Jaca. See above, p. 353.] [Father Parsons.] [Donna Anna de Espinosa, 7000 crowns, and her two brothers 6000.]	They have a box in every ship sailing to the West Indies. Upon it is the picture of St. Thomas Becket, on the octaves of whose day this college forsooth was first founded, and into it, through an hole in the lid thereof, merchants put in their devotion. The key of this, not Christmas, but all-the-year-long box is kept by the rector of the college, who only knoweth to how much this money amounteth.

Number.	*Rector.*	*Eminent Scholars.*
	[Franciscus Peralta.]	[John Worthington.] [Richard Walpole.] [Henry Floyd.]

any information; though I have met with a little tract in Spanish, of a similar argument, bearing the following title: "Relacion de un Sacerdote "Ingles, escrita a Flandres, a "un cavallero de su tierra, de"sterrada par ser Catolico: en "la qual le da cuenta de la "venida de su Magestad a "Valladolid, y al Colegio de "los Ingleses, y lo que alte se "hizo en su recebimiento. "Traduzida de Ingles en "Castellano per Tomas Ecle"sal cavallero Ingles. En Ma"drid," &c. 1592. 12mo.]

[s] See this forgery at large in Lewis Owen's Running Register, p. 59, to whom I am much beholding for my instructions in this subject.

[t] [Sanders de Schism. Ang. in App. p. 102. Mori Hist.

Here expect not of me a discovery (being no spy by profession) of the cunning contrivances whereby these Jesuits pass and repass the seas, without any detection, yea, suspicion of them; sometimes under the protection of a pass procured from some lords of the privy council for a young gentleman to go over into France, with two or three of his serving men, to learn the language; sometimes they shuffle themselves into the company of an ambassador or his menial servants, and so cover their private falsehood under his public faith. Many English gentlewomen, intended for nuns, are first veiled, before their going beyond seas, under pretence of travelling to the spa for their healths. In their return for England, these Jesuits have found the farthest way about for them the nearest way home; for, out of France or Spain, first they will sail into the Low Countries, and thence into England; and so, coming immediately out of protestant parts, escape without any or with easy examination; and yet these curious engineers, who fly so high and carry their conveyances so far above all common discovery, have sometimes one of their wheels or strings broken, and then down they fall into Newgate or some other prison, notwithstanding all their verbal and real equivocations.

A.D. 1569. 12 Eliz.

Cunning conveyances to pass over the seas.

Soc. Jesu, p. 159. Dodd, ib. p. 178. Juvencius apparently refers the foundation of this seminary to the year 1591. Hist. Soc. Jesu, p. 214. A letter, describing its origin and progress, is published in Dodd's Church History, App. No. LXII.]

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz.

College	*Founder.*	*Benefactors*	*Means.*
[St. Omer.] 5. Saint Omers, in Artois, founded about the year 1596[x].	Philip the Second, who gave them a good annuity, for whose soul they say every day a mass, and every year an obitum.	English catholics, especially the parents or friends of such youths as here have their education. [George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, by whose interest the duke of Bavaria settled on the college the annual interest of 200,000 florins.]	Watten Cloister, being a most pleasant place, with good land and a fair wood, some two leagues off. It anciently belonged to the Benedictines, of whom the Jesuits here bought it. Pope Paulus Quintus and the king of Spain confirming their bargain. It is said to be worth five hundred pounds a year.

Number.	*Rector.*	*Eminent Scholars.*
Well-nigh an hundred of gentlemen's sons, not as yet professed Jesuits, though like them in habit, but young scholars; besides above twenty Jesuits, (priests and lay-brethren,) having an inspection over them.	[1. Thomas Gerard] Though this college be of English only, yet their rector generally is a Fleming, and that out of a double design. first, that he may solicit their suits in that country the better, by the advantage of his language and acquaintance; secondly, that they may the more colourably deny such English passengers as beg of them, pleading that their rector, being a stranger, will part with no money, and they have none of their own	Father Fleck. Father Floid. Father Wilson.

College.	*Founder.*	*Benefactors.*	*Means.*
[Madrid.] 6 College of Madrid, in New Castile, in Spain, founded 1606.	Joseph Cresswell, Jesuit, with money of the two colleges of Valladolid and Seville, bought an house here, and built a college thereon.		What they gain by soliciting of suits for merchants and others in the Spanish court. The rest is supplied unto this college from the parents thereof; I mean the two colleges of Valladolid and Seville

Number	*Rector.*	*Eminent Scholars*

[x] [Lewis Owen's Running Register, p. 3 and p. 73. Dodd, II. p. 178, IV. 118. More, ib. p. 161, 293. The foundation was not finally settled until 1622.]

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz.

College.	*Founder.*	*Benefactor.*	*Means.*	
7. College of Louvain, in Brabant, founded about the year 1606 y	Philip the Third, king of Spain, gave a castle, (then much decayed, never much defensive for this city,) with a pension to the English Jesuits, to build them a college therewith.	[Aloysia de Caravajal.]		[Louvain.]

Number.	*Rector.*	*Eminent Scholars.*
Uncertain, as much in motion, and never all resident here together. [Removed chiefly to Watten and Liege.]		

College.	*Founder.*	*Benefactors.*	*Means.*	
8. College of Liege, in Lukeland, founded 1616 z.	The archbishop of Cologne (being at this time also bishop of Liege) gave them a pension to live on, and leave to build a fair college here.	Many of the English nobility a and gentry, under pretence of passing to the spa for recovery of their healths, here drop much of their gold by the way. It is doubtful how sovereign the spa-water will prove to these passengers, but certain that their gold is cordial to these Jesuits.		[Liege.]

Number.	*Rector.*	*Eminent Scholars.*
[In 1624 their numbers amounted to sixty.]	[Father John Gerard.] [Father Henry Silisdon.] [Father Owen Shelley.]	Mr. Brown, brother to the last viscount Montacute, in Sussex, became here a Jesuit.

y [Dodd, IV p. 120. The date of the establishment may be reckoned from 1607, when a house was first hired for the reception of students. In 1612 the foundation of a college was laid.]

z [See a very interesting account of this college in an anonymous work, entitled "Florus Anglo-Bavaricus "Leodii, apud Gul. Hen. "Street." 1685. 4to. Probably composed by the members of the college. It contains much information respecting

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz.	*College.*	*Founder.*	*Benefactor.*	*Means.*
[Ghent.]	9. [b] College of Ghent, in Flanders, founded 1620.	Philip the Fourth, who gave them a pension.	[Anne, countess of Arundel]	

Number.	*Rector.*	*Eminent Scholars.*

One may observe a kind of gradation in these colleges: St. Omers generally is for boys, to be taught in grammar; Rome for youths studying the arts; all the rest for men, (novices or professed Jesuits,) save that Douay is for any, of what age or parts soever. Compare these colleges amongst themselves, Rome will appear the richest in visible, Valladolid the cunningest in concealed, wealth; Douay the largest in men and straitest in means; Liege getting the most from passengers on land; Seville gaining the best by travellers at sea; Madrid wearing the bravest clothes, (where all the Jesuits are constant courtiers;) and St. Omers eating the best meat, as nearest to England, whence many a dainty bit is daily sent unto them.

the lives of the English students; particularly the second part, which contains an account of the plot of Oates and Benlowes.]

[a] [Particularly George Talbot, ninth earl of Shrewsbury. Florus Anglo-Bav. p. 8]

[b] [Besides these establishments, there was one at Lisbon, another at Arras, and a third at Pont-a-Mousson, of which some account will be found in Dodd. The duke of Guise also founded a college at Eu, (Auju,) in Normandy, for receiving English youths and instructing them in the Latin tongue. This college was founded in 1583, principally through the interest of father Parsons. During his lifetime the duke contributed yearly towards its support 100*l.* See Mori Hist Soc Jesu, p. 122. Sacchini Hist. Soc. Jesu, pp. 30, 84. Juvencius Hist. Soc. Jesu, p 309]

22. It is incredible what a mass of money (much in specie, more in exchange) was yearly made over out of England for the maintenance of these colleges; having here their provincials, sub-provincials, assistants, agents, coadjutors, familiars, &c., who collected vast sums for them, especially from catholics possessed of considerable estates out of abbey-lands; his holiness dispensing with them, to hold the same with a clear conscience, if bountiful on all such occasions. A.D. 1569. 12 Eliz. The bounty of English catholics.

23. We will conclude all with the solemn oath which each student (arrived at man's estate) ceremoniously sweareth, when admitted into one of these colleges: The oath taken by English fugitives at their admission.

"I, A. B., one bred in this English college, considering how great benefits God hath bestowed upon me, but then especially when he brought me out of mine own country, so much infected with heresy, and made me a member of the catholic church, as also desiring with a thankful heart to improve so great a mercy of God, have resolved to offer myself wholly up to divine service, as much as I may to fulfil the end for which this our college was founded. I promise therefore, and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I am prepared from mine heart with the assistance of divine grace, in due time to receive holy orders, and to return into England to convert the souls of my countrymen and kindred, when and as often as it shall seem good to the superior of this college [c]."

Be it remembered that our long vacation is their

[c] [Sanders de Schismate Anglicano in Append. p. 116]

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz. chiefest term; for in the months of August or September these colleges receive their annual supplies of green students, and then despatch their ripe noviciates for England; or, if you will, then take in young spawn, and send their old frogs over hither a-croaking. All that I will add is this: if covetousness should prevail so far as to pluck down protestant colleges in England, whilst superstition preserves and increaseth popish seminaries beyond the seas, sad would the sight be to behold the truth on our side encumbered with ignorance, to encounter falsehood on theirs advantaged with learning and languages.

The pope excommunicateth the queen

24. Pope Pius the Fifth had now long patiently expected the amendment of queen Elizabeth, and, weary with his waiting in vain, resolved at last (if not wisely, valiantly) that, seeing desperate diseases must have desperate cures, he would thunder his excommunication against her, according to the tenor following:

"*A Sentence declaratory of our holy lord pope Pius*
"*Quintus, against Elizabeth* [*the pretended*] *Queen*
"*of England, and the heretics adhering unto her.*
"*Wherein also* [*all*] *her subjects are declared ab-*
"*solved from the oath of allegiance, and every*
"*other thing due unto her whatsoever; and those*
"*which from henceforth obey her are innodated*
"*with the anathema*[d].

[d] [The original of this bull is in Camden's Annals, an. 1569, in Burnet's Reformation, and in Wilkins' Concilia, vol. IV. p. 260. The date of it in this latter writer, who extracted it from the second vol. (p. 303) of the Bullarium Romanum, slightly varies, being there 1570, fifth of the calends of May. Fuller probably translated it from Sanders de Schism. p. 368. I have added the words in brackets from the original.]

" *Pius, Bishop, servant to God's servants, for a* A.D. 1569.
" *future memorial of the matter.* 12 Eliz.

" He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all " power in heaven and in earth, committed one holy " catholic and apostolic church, out of which there " is no salvation, to one alone upon earth, namely, " to Peter the chief of the apostles, and to Peter's " successor, the bishop of Rome, to be governed in " fulness of power. Him alone he made prince over " all people and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, " scatter, consume, plant, and build; that he may " contain the faithful that are knit together with " the band of charity in the unity of the Spirit, and " present them spotless and unblamable to their " Saviour. In discharge of which function, We, " which are by God's goodness called to the govern- " ment of the aforesaid church, do spare no pains, " labouring with all earnestness that [this] unity and " the catholic religion (which the Author thereof " hath, for the trial of his children's faith, and for " our amendment, suffered [to engage] with so great " afflictions) might be preserved uncorrupt.

" But the number of the ungodly hath gotten such " power, that there is now no place left in the whole " world which they have not essayed to corrupt with " their most wicked doctrines; amongst others, Eliza- " beth, the pretended queen of England, the servant " of wickedness, lending thereunto her helping hand, " with whom, as in a sanctuary, the most pernicious of " all have found a refuge. This very woman, having " seized on the kingdom, and monstrously usurping " the place of supreme head of the church in all " England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction " thereof, hath again brought back the said kingdom

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz. "into miserable destruction, which was then newly "reduced to the catholic faith and good fruits. "For, having by strong hand inhibited the exer- "cise of the true religion, which Mary the lawful "queen, of famous memory, had by the help of this "see restored, after it had been formerly overthrown "by Henry the Eighth, a revolter therefrom; and "following and embracing the errors of heretics, she "hath removed the royal council, consisting of the "English nobility, and filled it with obscure men, "being heretics, suppressed the embracers of the "catholic faith, placed dishonest preachers and "ministers of impieties, abolished the sacrifice of "the mass, prayers, fastings, choice of meats, un- "married life, and the catholic rites and ceremonies; "commanded books to be read in the whole realm "containing manifest heresy and impious mysteries, "and institutions by herself entertained and ob- "served, according to the prescript of Calvin, to be "likewise observed by her subjects; presumed to "throw bishops, parsons of churches, and other "catholic priests out of their churches and benefices, "and to bestow them and other church livings upon "heretics, and to determine of church causes; pro- "hibited the prelates, clergy, and people to acknow- "ledge the church of Rome, or obey the precepts "and canonical sanctions thereof; compelled most "of them to condescend to her wicked laws, and to "abjure the authority and obedience of the bishop "of Rome, and to acknowledge her to be sole lady "in temporal and spiritual matters, and this by oath; "imposed penalties and punishments upon those "which obeyed not, and exacted them of those "which persevered in the unity of the faith and

" their obedience aforesaid; cast the catholic pre- A.D 1569.
" lates and rectors of churches in prison, where 12 Eliz
" many of them, being spent with long languishing
" and sorrow, miserably ended their lives. All which
" things, seeing they are manifest and notorious to
" all nations, and by the gravest testimony of very
" many so substantially proved that there is no place
" at all left for excuse, defence, or evasion; We,
" seeing that impieties and wicked actions are mul-
" tiplied one upon another, and moreover that the
" persecution of the faithful and affliction for reli-
" gion groweth every day heavier and heavier,
" through the instigation and means of the said
" Elizabeth; because we understand her mind to be
" so hardened and indurate that she hath not only
" contemned the godly requests and admonitions of
" catholic princes concerning her healing and con-
" version, but, alas! hath not so much as permitted
" the nuncios of this see to cross the sees into Eng-
" land, are constrained of necessity to betake our-
" selves to the weapons of justice against her, not
" being able to mitigate our sorrow that we are
" drawn to take punishment upon one to whose
" ancestors the whole state of all Christendom hath
" been so much bounden. Being therefore sup-
" ported with His authority, whose pleasure it was
" to place us (though unable for so great a burden)
" in this supreme throne of justice, We do, out of
" the fulness of our apostolic power, declare the
" aforesaid Elizabeth, (being an heretic and a fa-
" vourer of heresies,) and her adherents in the
" matters aforesaid, to have incurred sentence of
" *Anathema*, and to be cut off from the unity of the
" body of Christ. And moreover, We do declare

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz. "her to be deprived of her pretended title to the "kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, "and privilege whatsoever; and also the nobility, "subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all "other which have in any sort sworn unto her, to "be for ever absolved from any such oath, and all "manner of duty of dominion, allegiance, and obe- "dience; as We do also, by authority of these "presents, absolve them, and do deprive the same "Elizabeth of her pretended title to the kingdom, "and all other things above said. And We do "command and interdict all and every the noble- "men, subjects, people, and others aforesaid, that "they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, "mandates, and laws; and those which shall do the "contrary We do innodate with the like sentence of "*Anathema.* And because it were a matter of too "much difficulty to convey these presents to all "places wheresoever it shall be needful, our will "is, that the copies thereof (under a public notary's "hand, and sealed with the seal of an ecclesiastical "prelate, or of his court) shall carry together the "same credit with all people, judicially and extra- "judicially, as these presents should do if they were "exhibited or shewed.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of "the incarnation of our Lord one thousand five "hundred sixty-nine, the fifth of the kalends of "March, and of our popedom the fifth year [e].

"CÆ. GLORIERIUS.
"H. CUMYN."

[e] [To this bull, Bullinger, among others, wrote an answer, of whose book Strype has given some account in his Life of Grindal, p. 171.]

25. The principal persons whose importunity solicited the pope to thunder out this excommunication, were Dr. Harding, Dr. Stapleton, Dr. Morton [f], and Dr. Webbe. And now the news thereof, flying over into England, variously affected the catholics, according to their several dispositions: A D 1569. 12 Eliz.

The different opinions of English catholics concerning this excommunication.

i. Some admired and applauded the resolution of his holiness, expecting all persons should instantly start from the infectious presence of the queen; and that that virgin rose, so blasted, should immediately wither.

ii. Others would not believe that there was any such excommunication at all, but that it was a mere slander, devised by the common enemy, to make all catholics odious.

iii. Others accounted such excommunication, though denounced, of no validity, because the reasons which moved the pope thereunto were falsely and surreptitiously suggested to his holiness.

iv. Others did question the lawfulness of all excommunications of princes, according to the rule of St. Thomas, *Princeps et multitudo non est excommunicanda*, where the uncertain profit which might follow could not countervail the certain mischief which would ensue.

v. Others did condemn the present excommunication *pro hic et nunc*, as unexpedient, probable to incense and exasperate the queen to more severity, and make her gird her government closer to their sides who thought to shake it off. This was apparent by the woful experience of the excommunica-

[f] [This Dr. Morton had been employed in Northumberland's rebellion.]

A.D. 1569. 12 Eliz. tion denounced against king Henry the Eighth. Yea, Watson, bishop of Lincoln, (if his namesake may be credited[g],) was exceedingly grieved at the pope's proceedings herein, foreseeing the inconvenience would thence arise. This same Watson was he who, in the first of queen Elizabeth, would in all haste, by his own bare episcopal power, have excommunicated her; but now, (older and wiser,) mollified with ten years' durance, he altered his opinion.

vi. Others were unsatisfied in the authenticalness of the instrument, who never did or durst see the original, and were unresolved whether the copies were sufficiently attested.

vii. Others were perplexed in point of conscience, how far they were bound to obey herein, seeing the law of nature obligeth the wife in duty to her husband excommunicated; and the same reason is of the servant to the master, subject to the prince.

viii. Lastly, others were troubled in point of policy, having their persons and estates in the queen's power; and Bannes, the schoolman, pleadeth that "subjects are not bound to desert or resist "their prince, when such actions necessarily infer "danger of death and loss of goods."

But, leaving them to have their scruples satisfied by their confessors, this causeless curse to queen Elizabeth was turned into a blessing; and as the barbarians looked when St. Paul (having the viper upon his hand) *should have swollen and fallen down dead*[h], whilst he shook it off into the fire without

[g] Watson's Quodlibets, pag. 260. [h] Acts xxviii. 6.

any hurt or harm, so papists expected, when the queen should have miserably expired, stung to the heart with this excommunication; when she, nothing frighted thereat, in silence slighted and neglected it, without the least damage to her power or person, and no whit the less loved of her subjects or feared of her enemies. And most false it is which Sanders reports [i], that she, by the mediation of some great men, secretly laboured in vain in the court of Rome to procure a revocation of the pope's sentence against her; as what another relateth [k], how she was wont to say that "the thing itself grieved her not so "much, as because done by pope Pius, whose elec- "tion and life she held for miraculous." A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz.

26. This year two eminent bishops, once of the same cathedral, but different religions, ended their lives: William Barlow, doctor of divinity, canon of St. Osith, then prior of Bisham [l], successively bishop of St. Asaph, St. David's, and Bath and Wells, in the days of king Edward the Sixth, afterwards an exile in the reign of queen Mary in Germany, where he lived in great want and poverty, and by queen Elizabeth he was made bishop of Chichester, where he was buried [m]; the other, Gilbert Bourne, bishop of Bath and Wells, though a zealous papist, yet of a good nature, well deserving of his cathedral, and who found also fair usage in his restraint, living in free custody with the dean of Exeter, and lies buried in the parish church of Silverton [n]. The death of bishops Barlow and Bourn. [Sept. 10.]

[i] De Schism. Anglicano, p. 372.

[k] [Catena,] an Italian, in the Life of Pius Quintus, p. 116.

[l] [Near Maidenhead, in Berkshire.]

[m] [See sir J. Harrington, II. 144. Wood's Ath. I. 156. According to Wood, he died in 1568.

[n] [See Wood, ib. p. 699.]

A. D. 1569. 12 Eliz.

Popish expectation defeated.

27. Now was the twelfth year of the queen fully past with her safety and honour; in which the credulous papists, trusting the predictions of soothsayers, had promised to themselves a "golden day," as they called it [o]; instead whereof they are likely to find many leaden years hereafter. And henceforward the seventeenth of November, the day of the queen's inauguration, was celebrated with far greater solemnity than ever before: St. Hugh being for forty-four years left out of our calendars to make room for her majesty; and John Felton, who fastened the pope's bull to the palace of London, being taken, and refusing to fly, was hanged on a gibbet before the pope's palace [p].

The foundation of Jesus College in Oxford.

28. Hugh Price, doctor of the civil law [q], procured the foundation of a college in Oxford, on a ground where Whitehall had been formerly situated, which, with edifices and gardens thereto belonging, being then in the crown, queen Elizabeth gave to so pious a use, and therefore is styled the foundress in this mortmain. However, the said doctor inscribed these

[o] Camden's Eliz. in anno 1570.

[p] [Felton fastened this bull to the bishop of London's palace-gate, in Paul's churchyard, on the 25th of May. On the 4th of August he was arraigned at Guildhall, and hanged, drawn, and quartered four days after. "And this was the first action," says the author of "The Exe-"cution of Justice, &c." "of "any capital punishment in-"flicted for matter sent from "Rome to move rebellion, "which was after her majesty "had reigned about the space "of twelve years or more—a "time sufficient to prove her "majesty's patience." Somers' Tracts, I. 204 Stow, 667. A tract, giving an account of his death, was published at the same time in which he suffered, and reprinted in Morgan's Phæn. Brit. p. 415. See also the account of his sufferings by those of his own party, in Bridgewater's Concertatio, f 41.]

[q] [Prebendary of Rochester, afterwards treasurer of St. David's.]

following verses over the gate, when the building of the college was but begun: A. D. 1569 12 Eliz.

Struxit Hugo Pricius tibi clara palatia Jesu,
Ut doctor legum pectora docta daret.

Hugh Price this palace did to Jesus build,
That a law's doctor learned men might yield.

But an Oxford author [r] telleth us that a satirical pen [s] did underwrite, with wit and waggery enough, these following verses:

Nondum struxit Hugo, vix fundamenta locavit,
Det Deus ut possit dicere, struxit Hugo.

Hugh hath not built it yet: may it be said
Hugh built it, who hath scarce the groundwork laid?

But no doubt the scholars therein, at their first admission, know how to justify their reputed founder's words by the figure of Prolepsis, and can tell you that "what is well begun is half finished [t]."

[r] Pitz. de Acad. Oxon. in Script. p. 37.

[s] [Christopher Reynald.]

[t] [The doctor's intentions failed in another respect, for the estates which he gave for the support of the college were found to be almost valueless, according to Wood. Hist. of Colleges in Oxford, in Jesus College, p. 596.]

A. D. 1570. 12 Eliz.

Principals u.	*Bishops.*	*Benefactors.*	*Learned Writers.*
[1571.] David Lewis, LL.D.	Morgan Owen, bishop of Llandaff.	Herbert Westphaling, bishop of Hereford.	James Howel, an elegant writer [Daniel Brevint.]
[1572] Griffin Lloyd, LL.D, dean of the arches, and chancellor of Oxon.	Thomas Howell, bishop of Bristol, a most excellent preacher y.	Henry Rowland, bishop of Bangor.	
[1586.] Francis Bevans, LL.D.		Griffith Lloyd, doctor of law.	
[1602] Joseph Williams, D.D., Marg. Prof.		Griffith Powell.	
[1613.] Griffith Powell, M.A.		John Williams, doctor of divinity.	
[1620] Francis Mansell, M.A., fellow of All Souls. He resigned his place to sir Eubule Thelwall, (one of the masters of the chancery,) conceiving he might be more serviceable to the college.		Sir Eubule Thelwall, Kt., who made a court in a manner four-square, builded and wainscotted the hall, perfected the chapel with a curious and costly roof, &c.	
[1621.] Sir Eubule Thelwall, Kt.		Mrs. Jane Wood, widow of Owen Wood, dean of Armagh z.	
[1630] Dr. Francis Mansell, re-chosen.			
[1648] Michael Roberts, D.D x			

So that in the year 1634 it had one principal, sixteen fellows, sixteen scholars, (most of the ancient British nation,) besides officers and servants of the founda-

u This college hath had ten principals, whereas Trinity College in the same university, founded fourteen years before, hath had but five presidents.

x [He was put in by the parliament, succeeded by Francis Howell, M A., and fellow of Exeter in 1657. In 1660 Dr Mansell was restored, and died in 1665. No college seems to have been so much beholden to the munificence of its principals as this of Jesus]

y [Wood enumerates fourteen bishops to 1743]

z [The dean was a far greater benefactor than his widow.]

tion, and other students: all which made up the number of one hundred and nine. A. D. 1570. 12 Eliz.

29. Hitherto papists generally, without regret, repaired to the public places of divine service, and were present at our prayers, sermons, and sacraments. What they thought in their hearts, He knew who knoweth hearts; but in outward conformity they kept communion with the church of England; in which sense one may say that the whole land was of one language and one speech. But now began the tower of Babel to be built, and popery to increase, which brought with it the division of tongues, and the common distinction of papist and protestant, the former now separating themselves from our public congregations. *They went out from us, because they were not of us; for had they been of us, they would have continued with us.* Indeed the pope set his mark of favour on such reputed sheep as absented themselves from our churches, henceforward accounting them goats that repaired thither. And now began the word *recusant*[a] to be first born and bred in men's mouths; which, though formerly in being to signify such as refused to obey the edicts of lawful authority, was now confined in common discourse to express those of the church of Rome. The first beginning of recusancy.

30. Indeed hitherto the English papists slept in a whole skin, and so might have continued, had they not wilfully torn it themselves; for the late rebellion in the north, and the pope thundering out his excommunication against the queen, with many scandalous and pernicious pamphlets daily dispersed, made her majesty about this time first to frown on Papists their own persecutors

[a] [See Naunton's Frag. Regal. art. Cecil.]

A.D. 1570. 13 Eliz. papists, then to chide, then to strike them with penalties, and last to draw life-blood from them by the severity of her laws; for now the parliament sat at Westminster, cutting, as one may say, with a three-edged sword, as making sharp edicts against papists, nonconformists, and covetous conformists of the church of England.

A parliament cutting with three edges.

31. Against papists it was enacted [b], that to write, print, preach, express, publish, or affirm that the queen was an heretic, schismatic, &c., should be adjudged treason; also that it should be so accounted, and punished, to bring and put in execution any bulls, writings, instruments, or other superstitious things from the see of Rome, from the first of July following. A severe act also was made against fugitives, who, being the natural-born subjects of this realm, departed the same without license, and fled into foreign parts. Against nonconformists it was provided, that every priest or minister should, before the nativity of Christ next following, in the presence of his diocesan or his deputy, declare his assent, and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion agreed on in the convocation one thousand five hundred sixty and two, upon pain of deprivation on his refusal thereof. Against covetous conformists it was provided, that no spiritual person, college, or hospital shall let lease, other than for the term of twenty-one years, or three lives; the rent accustomed, or more, reserved payable yearly during the said term.

Covetous clergymen bridled.

32. Indeed this law came very seasonably, to retrench the unconscionable covetousness of some clergymen, who by long and unreasonable leases, as

[b] See the Statutes, 13 Eliz. [c 1, 2, 12.]

the statute termed them, dilapidated the lands of their churches. Here it came to pass, what the spouse complains, that *the keepers of the walls took her veil away from her* [c]; it being true what one said, that "those who should have righted her of "her wrongs, did wrong her of her rights." Many a bishopric so bruised itself when it fell vacant, that it lost some land before a new bishop was settled therein, where the elects contracted with their promoters on unworthy conditions. A. D. 1570. 13 Eliz.

33. But no armour can be made of proof against the darts of covetousness, especially when they come from an high and heavy hand of great men in authority. This law was not so cautiously drawn up but that some courtiers found a way to evade it, seeing the crown was not expressed therein, and left capable of such leases, (as, God willing, hereafter shall be largely related [d];) by which single shift they frustrated the effect of this law. Thus a ship may (though not as suddenly, as certainly) be sunk with one as with a thousand leaks. Covetousness creeps in at a small cranny.

34. We return to the queen of Scots, of whom we have heard nothing this three years of ecclesiastical cognizance, nor now meet with any thing of that nature save this letter, which, though somewhat long, yet because never as yet printed, and acquainting us with some passages in her restraint, is not unworthy the perusal [e]: The second letter of Mary queen of Scots to the pope.

"Most blessed Father,

"After the kissing of your most holy feet, about

[c] Cant. v. 7.

[d] Vide 1604. Secundo Reg. Jacobi.

[e] [The original Italian is in Catena's Life of Pius V. p. 302.]

A.D. 1571 14 Eliz. Oct. 31.

" the beginning of October, I received your holiness'
" letter, written the thirteenth of July, by which I
" understood not only the benediction which your
" holiness sent me, and which was and shall be
" always to me most acceptable, but also the great
" demonstration of your good-will to comfort me.
" I rested therewith singularly comforted indeed,
" partly because it was pleased earnestly to recom-
" mend both me and the affairs of my estate to the
" most potent princes, and especially to the most
" renowned kings of France and Spain. But withal
" there is yet remaining on the other part to work
" so with Christian princes, that, making a strict
" league among themselves, they should spare no
" vigilance, nor travels, nor expences, once to abate
" the most cruel tyrant, who continually thinketh of
" no other thing than to move war against us all[f].
" And might it please God that all other things
" might correspond with my will, besides that I were
" to do the same also, your blessedness should see it
" with effect, which should be that not only I, but
" also my subjects, with a will conform to their body,
" and together with other Christians, would put our-
" selves forward to do our utmost force. But what
" thing is there to be seen more worthy of compas-
" sion, than to see myself fallen into so great in-
" felicity from that happiness wherein I found myself
" lately? what thing is more lamentable than from a
" free woman as I was to become a servant? To
" these miseries is added, that my country is at this
" day wrapped in such and so many calamities, and

[f] This is meant of the Turk, and not (as some may suspect) of queen Elizabeth.

" beaten down with so many inroads of the English, A. D. 1571. 14 Eliz.
" that many and many towns have been set on fire
" and flames, many castles and most fair churches
" ruinated to the very foundations g. But that which
" is worse, my inhabitants and subjects, without
" scarce doing the least offence unto them, have
" been more cruelly slain. But what! shall I say
" nothing of myself? Is it not clear unto all men
" how I have been continually in divers and sundry
" perils? I call God to witness, who knows with
" what greatness of miseries I have been always
" stifled; and that which yet makes this tempest
" more cruel unto me is, that those who had pro-
" mised to make provisions for my good have after-
" wards failed me, nor given me the least favour in
" the world; nor do I hope that ever they will do it,
" except perhaps these made or prepared
" for or journey most inclined to help me,
" shall not be moved to undertake such enterprises
" in my behalf. But to say the truth of it, although
" there were succours gathered together, and a most
" assured army of —— from beyond the seas, certainly
" not without great peril, could they cross the ocean
" into Scotland in the winter time, which then is
" wont to be most turbulent and stormy. But the
" English on the other side, who are not separated
" from the Scots with any river interposed between
" them, are able not only in summer, but in winter
" time also, to move war against the Scots them-
" selves, who, when there doth rise up even the

g This letter to the pope was written in Latin, then translated into Italian, then retranslated into English; wonder not, therefore, if it lose some native lustre thereof.

A. D. 1571. 14 Eliz. "least occasion of discord between them, are wont "suddenly to put themselves effectually into arms. "Constrained therefore by these principal respects, "without I should expose the interest of my life and "country to the hazard of the greatest dangers, I am "by no means able to help it, but that even to my "greatest disadvantage I must make peace with the "English, saving always (as they say) my honour and "conscience, because honour doth regard the civil "administration, whereby to be able afterwards to "rule or govern the commonwealth. Then the "conscience, as being the form and force divine "given to men to direct them to a good end, which, "admitting it to be sometimes straitened and bound "with calamities, yet nevertheless may it, neither "for torments nor for promises of rewards, be ever "expelled or deprived from the communion and "obedience of the catholic church. But, amongst "other things, it now happeneth that I must relate "to your holiness one thing most truly bitter unto "me; that is, that we are come to those terms "of desiring my only son, the heir of the temporal "kingdoms, to be delivered by a certain time into "the hands of the English, by way of hostage or "pledge, reserving to me nevertheless the liberty to "appoint him such governors and counsellors after-"wards as shall best please me. There is, more-"over, granted leave of accession unto him, not "only for me, but likewise to all those that for "my satisfaction shall be sent into England to visit "him. Let not your holiness for this cause have "any doubt but that he shall be not only full of "good and holy conversation, but also (though he "be amongst an unlucky nation) a perfect member

" of the catholic and apostolic church, and always A D. 1571.
" ready and prone to help the same. But because 14 Eliz.
" that by this my letter I may not extend myself in
" greater length beyond my duty, I do conclude
" with this, that I have determined with myself
" nevertheless to give your holiness to understand
" of my estate, and of all these things which for the
" present do pass between them and me, and of these
" also which shall happen in the journey of any
" importance; and because it is a most difficult
" thing to put all my occasions in writing, I have
" for that cause informed the bishop of Dublin with
" all mine occurrences, as him that is and always
" hath been my most faithful nuncio, and most
" lovingly affected towards your holiness and the
" seat apostolic. May it please your holiness to
" give faith unto him concerning all the things
" whereof he shall treat with you in my name.
" Meantime I pray our Lord God that he by his
" most holy grace protect the catholic church from
" all the wicked thoughts of her adversaries, in
" which case all we have fixed our eyes upon your
" holiness as upon a most clear light, expecting of
" the same continually in name of his Divine Ma-
" jesty your most holy benediction; and all with the
" same mind do desire unto your holiness a most
" long life, to the glory of the most mighty God,
" and comfort of all the faithful.

" From Chatsworth, in England, the last of Oc-
" tober, 1570.

" The most devout Daughter
" of your Holiness,
" MARY, the Queen."

A. D. 1571. 14 Eliz. Whoso consults our state historians in this very juncture of time shall find the queen of Scots on tolerable terms (daily likely to amend) with queen Elizabeth; yea, now she was in the vertical of her favour, wherein henceforward she began to decline, principally for practising with the pope and foreign princes.

SECT. III.

TO

MRS. ANNE DANVERS,

OF CHELSEA [a].

Madam,

Let not your maiden modesty be betrayed to a blush, seeing yourself here left alone, surrounded on all sides with masculine Dedications. It will keep you in countenance, if reflecting your eye either on the first page of this book, or side columns of this page, where you shall find the queen of virgins in the front thereof, whose reign in this book is described; indeed a portion thereof, being designed to your late brother, (now glorious saint,) falls of course to you, with his goods and chattels, as his sole executrix. If any Latin letters occur in this section, I doubt not but God will seasonably provide you such a consort who, amongst his many other virtues, will change you to a happy wife, and translate them to your understanding.



BOUT this time [b] deceased William Alley, bishop of Exeter, a painful preacher, and John Jewel, of Salisbury, of whom largely before. He was born in Devonshire, bred first in Merton, then Corpus Christi College, in Oxford; A.D. 1572. 15 Eliz. The death of the bishops of Exeter and Salisbury.

[a] [Arms. Gules, a chevron between three mullets, or. Daughter of sir John Danvers, of Chelsea, (brother to Henry earl of Danby, of whom see the Worthies, III. 331,) by his third wife, Elizabeth, daughter of sir John Daventry. She married sir Henry Lee, of Ditchley in the county of Oxford, bart.]

[b] [April 15, 1570. See his Life in Wood's Ath. I. 163.]

A. D. 1572. 15 Eliz. first pupil to, afterwards fellow exile with, Mr. Parkhurst in Germany [b]. After queen Mary's death, Parkhurst durst not for danger return with Jewel, but went a securer way, as he supposed, by himself; though Jewel came safe and sound home, whilst Parkhurst was robbed of all in his return, and relieved by the other at his journey's end; and soon after both of them were made bishops, Mr. Parkhurst of Norwich, and Jewel of Salisbury.

The praise of bishop Jewel.

2. A jewel (sometimes taken for a single precious stone) is properly a collective of many, orderly set together to their best advantage. So several eminences met in this worthy man: naturals, artificials, (amongst which I recount his studied memory, deserving as well as Theodectes the sophister the surname of Mnemonicus,) morals, but principally spirituals. So devout in the pew where he prayed, diligent in the pulpit where he preached, grave on the bench where he assisted, mild in the consistory where he judged, pleasant at the table where he fed, patient in the bed where he died, that well it were if, in relation to him, *secundum usum Sarum* [c] were made precedential to all posterity. He gave, at his death, to Peter Martyr a golden rose, (yet more fragrant for the worth of the giver than the value of the gift;) to the city of Zurich a present which they converted into a piece of plate, with Jewel's arms thereon; to several scholars large legacies; to the church of Salisbury a fair library, and another to the church of England—I mean his learned "Apo-"logie." It is hard to say whether his soul or his

[b] Vide supra in the first year of queen Mary.

[c] Laurence Humphrey, in his Life of Bishop Jewel, p. 249.

ejaculations arrived first in heaven, seeing he prayed dying and died praying. He was buried in the quire, by bishop Wivill [d]—two champions of the church lying together: one who with his sword proffered to maintain the lands; the other who with his pen defended the doctrine thereof. In the absence of doctor Humphreys, designed for that service, Mr. Giles Laurence preached his funerals, who formerly, being tutor to the children of sir Arthur Darcy [e], by Aldgate in London,) in queen Mary's days, preserved Jewel's life, and provided accommodation for his flight beyond the seas. A.D. 1572. 15 Eliz.

3. Hitherto the bishops had been the more sparing in pressing, and others more daring in denying subscription, because the canons made in the convocation 1563 were not for nine years after confirmed by act of parliament; but now, the same being ratified by parliamental authority, they began the urging thereof more severely than before, which made many dissenters keep their private meetings in woods, fields, their friends' houses, &c. [f]: I say private meetings, for conventicles I must not call them, having read what one hath written [g], "That name "(which agreeth to anabaptists) is too light and "contemptuous to set forth such assemblies, where "God's word and sacraments are administered, even "by the confession of their adversaries." Subscription why now more rigorously urged.

4. Indeed no disgrace is imported in the notation of the word conventicle, sounding nothing else but a The true notion of a conventicle.

[d] [Bishop of Salisbury.]

[e] [Probably the younger son of Thomas lord Darcy, of whom see Stow's Survey, pp. 117, 118, 119.]

[f] Bishop Bancroft, in his English Scottizing, III. 1.

[g] Thomas Cartwright's Second Reply, p. 38, ed. 1575

A D. 1572. 15 Eliz. small convention. And some will say, can the infant (the diminutive) be a term of reproach, where the mother (the primitive) is creditable in the acception thereof? However, custom (the sole mint-master of current words) hath took of conventicles from signifying a small number to denote the meeting of such (how many soever) in a clandestine way, contrary to the commands of the present lawful authority.

T. C. presents to the parliament an [distasted] admonition.

5. And now Thomas Cartwright, chief of the nonconformists, presents the parliament with a book called "An Admonition," some members taking distaste at the title thereof; for, seeing admonition is the lowest of ecclesiastical censures, and a preparative (if neglected) to suspension and excommunication, such suggested, that if the parliament complied not with this admonitor's desires, his party (whereof he the speaker) would proceed to higher and louder fulminations against the parliament. Whereas admonition is a soft word in the common, but especially in the scripture acception thereof, and may with humility on just occasion be tendered from inferiors to any single persons or Christian corporation; this admonition contained their grievances who presented it, with a declaration of the only way to redress them, viz. by admitting that platform which was there prescribed. This, not finding the entertainment it expected, was seconded by another, more importunate, to the same effect.

Bandying of books betwixt two learned men, chief of their parties.

6. It will not be amiss to set down what writings, *pro* and *con*, passed on the occasion of this book, between two eminent authors of opposite parties:

i. The Admonition, (first and second,) made by Mr. Cartwright.

ii. The Answer to the Admonition, by Dr. John Whitgift [h]. A D. 1572. 15 Eliz.

iii. The Reply to the Answer of the Admonition, by Mr. Thomas Cartwright.

iv. The Defence of the Answer, by Dr. John Whitgift [i].

This last kept the field, and, for aught I can find, received no solemn refutation.

7. Sundry reasons are assigned of Mr. Cartwright's silence, all believing as they are affected, and most being affected as led by their interest. Some ascribed it to his weakness, who, having spent all his powder and shot in former fights, was forced to be quiet for the future; others to his pride, (under- Several reasons of Mr. Cartwright's not replying again.

[h] ["An Answer to a certain "Libel entitled 'An Admo- "nition to the Parliament.' "By John Whitgift, Doctor of "Divinity. Imprinted at Lon- "don, by Henry Bynneman, "for Humfrey Toy, anno "1572." 4to.

A second edition of this book was printed in the following year, "newly augmented by "the author, as by conference "shall appear." About the same time Cartwright set forth his reply to the bishop's book, entitling it "A Reply to an "Answer made of M. Doctor "Whitegifte, against the Ad- "monition to the Parliament. "By T. C." 4to.]

[i] [In 1574 an answer was made by the archbishop under the following title: "The De- "fence of the Answer to the "Admonition, against the reply "of T. C. By John Whitgift, "Doctor of Divinity. Printed "at London, by Henry Byn- "neman, for Humfrey Toye, "anno 1574." Fol. This was followed by

"The second Reply of Tho- "mas Cartwright, against Mas- "ter Doctor Whitgift's second "Answer touching the Church "Discipline. Imprinted 1575." 4to.

"The rest of the second "Reply, &c. Imprinted 1577." 4to.

The archbishop carried on the controversy no further, because, as he himself most candidly stated, he was desirous that Cartwright should "use "his good gifts to the peace "and quietness of the church;" and indeed for a more substantial reason, that there was nothing in the second production which had not been sufficiently answered in the archbishop's reply to the first. See Strype's Whitgift, p. 301]

A. D. 1572. 15 Eliz. valuing what he could not overcome,) counting Whitgift's last answer no answer, but a repetition of what was confuted before; others imputed it to his patience, seeing otherwise multiplying of replies would make brawls infinite; and whilst women strive for the last word, men please themselves with the last reason; others to the policy of that party, resolving to go a new way to work, and to turn their serious books into satirical pamphlets. Some few attributed it to Mr. Cartwright's modest respect to his adversary, who had gotten the upper ground of him, Whitgift being soon after made bishop and archbishop; though, in my mind, this would more heighten than abate their opposition.

The first presbytery in England set up at Wandsworth in Surrey.

8. The nonconformists, though overpowered for the present in parliament, yet found such favour therein, that after the dissolution thereof they presumed to erect a presbytery at Wandsworth in Surrey[k]. Eleven elders were chosen therein, and their offices and general rules (by them to be observed) agreed upon and described, as appears by a bill indorsed with the hand of Mr. Field, the lecturer, as I take it, of that place, but living in London. Mr. Smith, of Mitcham, and Mr. Crane, of Roehampton, (neighbouring villages,) are mentioned for their approbation of all passages therein. This was the first-born of all presbyteries in England, and *secundum usum Wandsworth* as much honoured by some as *secundum usum Sarum* by others.

The chief nonconformists in London.

9. It may seem a wonder that the presbyterian discipline should ripen sooner in this country village than in London itself[l]; whereas yet they were not

[k] Bishop Bancroft's English Scottizing, ib.

[l] [Not so strange either; it being true, what Dr. Sutcliffe

arrived at so formal a constitution, though we may observe two sorts of ministers: A. D. 1564. 6 Eliz.

First.—1. Mr. Field. 2. Mr. Wilcox. 3. Mr. Standen. 4. Mr. Jackson. 5. Mr. Bonham. 6. Mr. Seintloe. 7. Mr. Crane. 8. Mr. Edmonds [m].

Afterwards.—1. Mr. Charke. 2. Mr. Travers. 3. Mr. Barber. 4. Mr. Gardner. 5. Mr. Cheston. 6. Mr. Crooke. 7. Mr. Egerton. 8. ———

The former of these were principally against ministers' attire and the Common Prayer-Book; the latter endeavoured the modelling of a new discipline: and it was not long before, both streams uniting together, nonconformity began to bear a large and great channel in the city of London.

10. This same year happened a cruel massacre in Paris, the French protestants being bidden thither under the pretence of a nuptial solemnity; but never were such black favours given at a wedding, admiral Coligny (the pillar of the reformed church) being slain in his bed on Bartholomew-eve, whose day then and for some years after was there remarkable for wet weather: The massacre in Paris.

Bartholomeus flet, quia Gallicus occubat Atlas.

Bartholomew bemoans with rain
The Gallic Atlas thereon slain.

observes, that the lowest and most ignorant class of the people did put forth themselves as ecclesiastical governors, "to "answer whether the laws they "practise be good or no; and "who must sit judge in the "cause? Forsooth Hicke, Hob, "and Clem of Clough; yea, "and Margaret and Joan too "for they, forsooth, now do "prate apace of discipline, and "give us out their censures." Epist. Dedicatory to his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Discipline, ed. 1591.]

[m] [This Edmonds afterwards conformed. See Bancroft, ib. 43.]

A.D. 1572. 15 Eliz. William Cecil, lord Burleigh, invited to be there [n], wisely kept himself at home; otherwise perchance our English Nestor had been sent the same way with the French Atlas, and ten thousand protestants of name and note slain in that city within three days.

Two impostresses discovered. 11. Let not the following passage be censured for superfluous in this our book, whose omission would be condemned as a defect by others [o]: Agnes Bridges, a maid about twenty, and Rachel Pindar, a girl about twelve years old, so cunningly counterfeited themselves possessed with the devil, that they deceived many ministers in London, from whom more wisdom and less credulity might justly have been expected. Thus these liars belied the father of lies by their dissimulation; and now what praying, and preaching, and fasting was there to dispossess them, to the no small derision of profane persons when their forgery was discovered. However, such scoffing may be punished when the others shall have their erroneous judgment pardoned and well-intended charity rewarded. Soon after those impostresses were detected, penance at St. Paul's cross on them imposed, by them publicly (and for outward view penitently) performed, the present beholders satisfied, the formerly deluded rectified, to be more wise and wary for the future.

Anabaptists discovered. 12. Now began the anabaptists wonderfully to increase in the land; and as we are sorry that any countrymen should be seduced with that opinion, so we are glad that English as yet were free from that

[n] Camden's Eliz. in hoc anno.

[o] Stow's Chron. p. 678.

infection; for on Easter-day was disclosed a congregation of Dutch anabaptists [p], without Aldgate in London, whereof seven and twenty were taken and imprisoned, and four bearing fagots at Paul's cross solemnly recanted their dangerous opinions [q]. A.D. 1575. 18 Eliz.

13. Next month one Dutchman and ten women were condemned [r], of whom one woman was converted to renounce her errors, eight were banished the land, two more so obstinate that command was issued out for their burning in Smithfield; but, to reprieve them from so cruel a death, a grave divine sent the following letter to queen Elizabeth, which we request the reader to peruse, and guess at the author thereof [s]: Eleven of them condemned.

" Serenissima, beatissima princeps, regina illus- A divine's letter to the queen, to forbear burning them.
" trissima, patriæ decus, sæculi ornamentum. Ut
" nihil ab animo meo omnique expectatione abfuit
" longius, quam ut majestatis tuæ amplissimam ex-
" cellentiam molesta unquam interpellatione obtur-
" barem: ita vehementer dolet silentium hoc, quo
" hactenus usus sum constanter, non eadem con-
" stantia perpetuo tueri ita ut volebam licuisse. Ita
" nunc præter spem ac opinionem meam nescio qua
" infelicitate evenit, ut quod omnium volebam minime,
" id contra me maxime faciat hoc tempore. Qui cum
" ita vixerim hucusque, ut molestus fuerim nemini,
" invitus nunc cogar contra naturam principi etiam

p Stow's Chron. p. 679.

q [See the form prescribed for their recantation in Heylin's Hist of Presbyt p. 242, reprinted in Wilkins' Conc. IV. 282.]

r Idem, p. 680.

s [Harl. MSS No 416, p. 151. The original draught of this letter is in Fox's own hand. There is also another draught of it in the same handwriting at p 155, but differing very considerably from this]

A. D. 1575 18 Eliz.

" ipsi esse importunus, non re ulla aut causa mea,
" sed aliena inductus calamitate. Quæ quo acerbior
" sit et luctuosior hoc acriores mihi addit ad depre-
" candum stimulos. Nonnullos intelligo in Anglia
" hic esse non Anglos, sed adventitios, Belgas quidem
" opinor, partim viros, partim fœminas, nuper ob
" improbata dogmata in judicium advocatos. Quo-
" ruma liquot feliciter reducti publicam luerunt pœni-
" tentiam, complures in exilium sunt condemnati [t],
" idque rectissime meo judicio factum esse arbitror.
" Jam ex hoc numero unum esse aut alterum audio,
" de quibus ultimum exustionis supplicium (nisi suc-
" currat tua pietas) brevi sit statuendum. Qua una
" in re duo contineri perspicio, quorum alterum ad
" errorum pravitatem, alterum ad supplicii acerbita-
" tem attinet. Ac erroribus quidem ipsis nihil posse
" absurdius esse, sanus nemo est qui dubitat, mirorque
" tam fœda opinionum portenta in quosquam po-
" tuisse Christianos cadere. Sed itat est humanæ
" infirmitatis conditio, si divina paululum luce desti-
" tuti nobis relinquimur, quo non ruimus præcipites?
" Atque equidem hoc nomine Christo gratias quam
" maximas habeo, quod Anglorum hodie neminem
" huic insaniæ affinem video. Quod igitur ad pha-
" naticas istas sectas attinet, eas certe in republica
" nullo modo fovendas esse, sed idonea comprimen-
" das correctione censeo. Verum enim vero ignibus
" ac flammis, pice ac sulphure æstuantibus viva
" miserorum corpora torrefacere judicii magis cæ-
" citate quam impetu voluntatis errantium, durum
" istud ac Romani magis exempli esse quam evan-

[t] [See the similar expression in the next page.]

" gelicæ consuetudinis videtur, ac plane ejusmodi, ut A.D. 1575.
" nisi a Romanis pontificibus, authore Innocentio 18 Eliz.
" tertio primum profluxisset, nunquam istum Perilli
" taurum quisquam in mitem Christi ecclesiam im-
" portavisset. Non quod maleficiis delecter, aut
" erroribus faveam cujusquam dicta hæc esse velim,
" vitæ hominum, ipse homo quum sim, faveo. Ide-
" oque faveo, non ut erret, sed ut resipiscat. Ac
" neque hominum solum, utinam et pecudibus ipsis
" opitulari possem. Ita enim sum (stulte fortassis
" hoc de meipso, at vere dico) macellum ipsum ubi
" mactantur etiam pecudes, vix prætereo, quin tacito
" quodam doloris sensu mens refugiat. Atque equi-
" dem in eo Dei ipsius valde admiror venerorque
" toto pectore clementiam, qui in jumentis illis brutis
" et abjectis, quæ sacrificiis olim parabantur, id pro-
" spexerat, ne prius ignibus mandarentur, quam san-
" guis eorum ad basin altaris effunderetur. Unde
" disceremus in exigendis suppliciis, quamvis justis,
" non quid omnino rigori liceat, sed ut clementia
" simul adhibita rigoris temperet asperitatem.

" Quamobrem si tantum mihi apud principis tanti
" majestatem audere liceret, supplex pro Christo
" rogarem clementissimam hanc regiæ sublimitatis
" excellentiam, pro authoritate hac tua qua ad vitam
" multorum conservandam pollere, te divina voluit
" clementia; ut vitæ si fieri possit (quid enim non
" possit iis in rebus authoritas tua) miserorum par-
" catur, saltem ut horrori obsistatur, atque in aliud
" quodcunque commutetur supplicii genus. Sunt
" ejectiones, inclusiones retrusæ, sunt vincula, sunt
" perpetua exilia, sunt stigmata, et πλήγματα aut
" etiam patibula. Id unum valde deprecor, ne pyras
" ac flammas Smythfeldianas jam diu faustissimis tuis

A. D. 1575. 18 Eliz.

"auspiciis huc usque sopitas sinas nunc recandescere. "Quod si ne id quidem obtineri possit, id saltem "omnibus supplicandi modis efflagito τοῦτο τὸ πελαρ- "γικὸν pectoris tui implorans, ut mensem tamen unum "aut alterum nobis concedas, quo interim experia- "mur, an a periculosis erroribus dederit Dominus ut "resanescant, ne cum corporum jactura, animæ pari- "ter cum corporibus de æterno periclitentur exitio."

This letter was written by Mr. John Fox, (from whose own hand I transcribed it,) very loath that Smithfield, formerly consecrated with martyrs' ashes, should now be profaned with heretics', and desirous that the papists might enjoy their own monopoly of cruelty in burning condemned persons. But though queen Elizabeth constantly called him her father Fox, yet herein was she no dutiful daughter, giving him a flat denial [u]. Indeed damnable were their impieties, and she necessitated to this severity, who having formerly punished some traitors, if now sparing these blasphemers, the world would condemn her, as being more earnest in asserting her own safety than God's honour. Hereupon the writ *de hæretico comburendo* (which for seventeen years had hung only up *in terrorem*) was now taken down and put in execution; and the two anabaptists [x], burned in Smithfield, died in great horror with crying and roaring [y].

Another useful letter of the same author.

14. I am loath this letter should stand alone, and therefore will second it with another, (though no-

[u] As to the saving of their lives, if after a month's reprieve and conference with divines, they would not recant their errors.

[x] [The names of these men were John Peeters and Henry Turwest, Flemings born. See the writ for their execution in Rymer's Fœd. XV. 740, and in Wilkins, IV. 281.]

[y] Stow ut prius.

thing of this nature,) which I may call a private-public one—private for the subject, public for the use thereof: first, to acquaint us with the character of Magdalen College, and generally of all Oxford, (not to say England,) in those days; secondly, to shew that though Mr. Fox came not up in all particulars to cleave the pin of conformity, (as refusing to subscribe,) yet he utterly distasted the factious people of that age; lastly, that the papists who miscalled him John Lack-Latin may appear as so many lack-truths by his fluent and familiar language. A.D. 1575. 18 Eliz.

15. Only a word to the reader, informing him with the cause of this letter. Samuel, his eldest son, bachelor of arts, and fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, travelled beyond the seas, without leave either from father or college. At his return he was causelessly accused for a papist, and expelled the college by a faction of people, whose names I had rather the reader should take from Mr. Fox his pen than mine own. And now, as once Tully *pro domo sua* strained all the nerves of his rhetoric, so see here how pathetically this old man *pro filio suo* writes to a reverend bishop [z] of the church: The occasion thereof.

σὺν τῷ Χρῷ.

" [a] Quando, quomodo, quibus verbis, qua dicendi
" figura pares agam gratias singulari vixque credibili
" humanitati tuæ (vir reverende, idemque doctissime
" præsul) qua me miserum, tot tantisque ærumnis
" obsitum, imo obrutum, literis tam amanter scriptis,
" et erigere jacentem, et erectum refocillare volueris.

[a] [Parker or Whitgift.]

[z] [Harl. MSS. No. 416, p 152. The original draught in Fox's own hand, by which I have been enabled to correct various errors in the printed copy.] This I saw carefully transcribed out of the original.

A D. 1575. 18 Eliz. "In quo pulchre tu quidem hoc exemplo representas,
"quid sit vere episcopum agere in domo Domini.
"Quid enim antistitem vere Christianum, verius vel
"arguit, vel commendat insignius, quam charitas
Exhibita [a]. "toties in Christianis literis commedata? Aut ubinam
"hæc ipsa charitas vim suam illustrius poterit ex-
"plicare, quam in sacro hoc consolandi officio, ἐν τῷ
"παραμυθείσθαι τοὺς ἀθυμούντας, καὶ γὰρ εἰς τοσαύτην
"ἀθυμίαν ἐνέπεσον τότε, ἐν τῷ ἐπιστέλλειν σε, ὥστε
"οὐδέποτέ τι τῶν ἄλλων οὐδέν ἐμοι συμβῆναι εὐκαιρότε-
"ρον καὶ ἀκμαιότερον, τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας σου ἐκείνων
"γραμμάτων. Usque adeo tot simul adversæ res
"omnem mihi et constantiam et patientiam pene
"expectorabant. Cui enim, quamlibet adamantinum
"pectus, non consterneret inaudita hæc hominum
"ingratissimorum inhumanitas? in ea presertim
"academia, eoque collegio, unde nihil unquam ex-
"pectabam minus quam tale aliquid ab iis mihi
"eventurum, quos si non meæ senectutis et pauper-
"tatis ratio commovere, at ipsorum tamen vel hu-
"manitas vel literarum quas profitentur consuetudo,
"polire ad humaniorem [b] modestiam debuisset. Quod
"autem de meis vel erga illos vel erga alios meritis,
"honoranda tua pietas humanissime prædicat, in eo
"τὸ τῆς εὐμενείας σου μέγεθος satis contemplor; in
"me nihil agnosco eorum quæ tribuis. Illud con-
"fiteor, semper cavisse me sedulo, ut si minus pro-
"desse multis licuerit, nesciens tamen obessem cui-
"quam, tum minime vero omnium Magdalensibus,
"quo magis id mihi admirationi habetur, quis tam
"turbulentus genius factiosa ista *Puritanorum* capita
"afflaverit, ut sic violatis gratiarum legibus, spretis

[a] ['Commendata' in MS.]
[b] [A few lines are here torn away in the original]

" meis ad se literis et precibus, contempta præsidis A.D 1575.
" ipsius intercessione, nulla præmissa admonitione, 18 Eliz.
" nec causa reddita, tantam hanc in me, filiumque
" tyrannidem exercuerint. Atque vero ut hoc iis
" concedam, non tam purum esse et immunem ab
" omni nævo filium meum, atque sunt isti ter puri
" *Puritani.* At in his tamen nævis illius, nullum
" adhuc comperi τὸ κάρφος tam magnum, quin majores
" forte τὰς δοκοὺς in moribus ipsorum conspicere liceat.
" Et ubi interim fraterna illa inter fratres admonitio,
" quam tantopere exigit evangelica cautio? ubi dis-
" ciplina illa apostolica ἔλεγξον, ἐπιτίμησον, παρακά-
" λεσον? Certe plusquam atrox facinus intercedat
" oportet, quod tam atroci ejectionis vindicatione
" luendum sit; sed latet in hac herba alius fortasse
" anguis, quam quia isti proferre non audent, ego in
" lucem producam. Flagrat collegium hoc horribili
" factione, cujus altera pars propensioribus studiis
" incumbit in suum præsidentem; altera istorum
" est quos dico τῶν καθαροτέρων, qui modis omnibus
" dant operam ut partes sui præsidis labefactent, ip-
" sumque vel in suam redigant potestatem, vel sede
" prorsus evertant. Quia vero filius meus cum altero
" ejus collega, præfecto suo, ita ut par erat, inclina-
" tior videbatur, propterea societate exhæredatur.
" Accedit huic et alia causa, quam tam filio quam
" mihi ipsi imputo.

" Quod si enim is essem, qui perbacchari cum eis
" contra episcopos, et archi-episcopos, aut scribam
" me præbere illorum ordini, hoc est, insanire cum
" illis voluissem, nunquam istos in me aculeos exa-
" cuissent. Nunc quia totus ab iis alienus partes
" illas sectari maluerim, quæ modestiæ sunt, et pub-
" licæ tranquillitatis, hinc odim in me conceptum

A.D. 1575. 18 Eliz. " jam diu [b], in hanc demum efferbuit acerbitatem.
" Quod cum ita sit, non jam quid mea causa velitis
" facere, id postulo, quin potius quid vestra ipsorum
" causa cogitandum sit, vos qui proceres estis
" ecclesiæ etiam atque etiam deliberatæ. Quod ad
" me autem attinet, quamvis erepta filio societas
" haud leni afficit animum ægritudine, tamen quia
" res privata agitur, hoc fero moderatius. Magis me
" commovet publicæ ecclesiæ ratio. Videor enim
" suboriri quoddam hominum genus, qui si invales-
" cant, viresque in hoc regno colligant, piget hic
" referre, quid futuræ perturbationis præsagit mihi
" animus. Olim sub monachorum fucata hypocrisi
" quanta sit nata lues religioni Christianæ, minime
" ignorat prudentia tua. Nunc in istis nescio quod
" novum monachorum genus reviviscere videtur,
" tanto illis perniciosius, quanto calidiore fallendi
" artificio sub prætextu perfectionis personati isti
" histriones gravius occultant venenum. Qui dum
" omnia exigunt ad strictissimæ suæ disciplinæ et
" conscientiæ gnomones, haud videntur prius desituri,
" donec omnia in Judaicam redigant servitutem. Sed
" de iis alias, pleniore fortassis manu, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέπῃ ὁ
" κύριος.

" Interim celeberrimæ tuæ dignitati vir honorande,
" cum publico ecclesiæ nomine, et animum istum,
" et sedem quam tenes merito gratulor, tum mea
" privatim causa ob singulare tuum in me studium
" gratias habeo permaximas. Precorque Dominum
" omnium gratiarum fontem cumulatissimum, ut
" ecclesiam suam periculosissimis iis temporibus pro-

[b] [Here a few lines are lost, corresponding to the reverse of those above]

" pugnet ac tueatur, ut pastores se dignos faveat, A.D. 1575. 18 Eliz.
" provehatque, tum inter istos, te inprimis sacris
" ipsius bonis donisque indies magis magisque locu-
" pletet, ὃς κἂν σοι ἀναποδοίη τὰς ἰσομέτρους ἀμοιβὰς
" τῆς παρακλήσεως, ἧς μέν μοι παρεῖχον τὰ παρακλητικὰ
" τῶν γραμμάτων σου. Amplissime juxta ac ornatis-
" sime præsul,

" Tuus in Christo καδδύναμιν,

" JOANNES FOXUS."

If this good man appeareth too passionate herein, score it neither on his old age nor on his affection to his son, but on the unjust affront offered unto him, who at last was restored fellow by the queen her mandate; and he privately cast out by a faction, to his great disgrace, was publicly brought in again by authority, to his greater reputation.

16. We may plainly perceive, by this letter, how powerful the party of nonconformists was grown at this time, and to what violences and extravagancies some went in their practices; insomuch that Dr. Humphry, then president of Magdalen's, and Mr. Fox himself, (both which scrupled subscription in some particulars,) were deserted by them as lukewarm and remiss in the cause. Yea, even of those who were *duriores puritani* all were not equally rigid; but Coleman, Burton, Hallingham, and Benson outdid all of their own opinions. Thus those loaves which are *ejusdem farinæ* (of the same meal, yea of one batch, out of the same oven) are not all hard and crusty alike. The violence of rigid nonconformists.

17. The death of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, added much to their increase. He was a Parker indeed, careful to keep the fences and shut The death and praise of Matthew Parker. [May 17.]

A.D. 1575. 18 Eliz. the gates of discipline against all such night-stealers as would invade the same. No wonder, then, if the tongues and pens of many were whetted against him, whose complaints are beheld by discreet men like the exclamations of truantly scholars against their master's severity, correcting them for their faults. This archbishop was an excellent antiquary, (without any anticknesse,) a great benefactor to Bennet College in Cambridge, on which he bestowed many manuscripts, so that that library (for a private one) was the sun of English antiquity in those days; though now no more than the moon, since that of sir Robert Cotton's is risen up.

His memory causelessly aspersed.

18. But a large author, though not daring to deny due praises to his memory, causelessly taxed him for being too pontifical in his buildings and feastings; particularly he charged him, that whereas the pope thundered out an excommunication against queen Elizabeth, yet, saith he, "I read of no refutation "made of it by this arch-prelate;" as if this were such a sin of omission in him, and he bound by his place to answer every Romish railing Rabshekah [c]. But let him know that in his learned book of *Antiquitates Britannicæ* he hath laid down those historical grounds which may be improved to the baiting of the whole herd of popish bulls, or, if you will, to make all those bubbles sink to nothing: a work out of which his accuser hath taken so much, that he cannot pretend to the commendation of industry, (the poorest praise of a writer,) being no better than a lazy translator. And as the spleen is subservient

[c] Mr. Prynne in his Antipathy of Lordly Prelacy, part I. p. 149.

to the liver, to take from it only the most putrid and feculent blood, so hath he solely transcribed thence, and from bishop Godwin's Catalogue, the faults and failings of all the English prelacy, passing over in silence their due and just commendation. Edmund Grindal succeeded him in his place, a prelate most *primitive* in all his conversation. A. D. 1575. 18 Eliz.

19. We must not forget Margaret the wife of archbishop Parker, a pattern for all prelates' wives. In the reign of king Henry the Eighth, though seven years contracted, (by mutual consent forbearing marriage, then unlawful for clergymen,) such her fidelity, that she was deaf to richer proffers; when married under Edward the Sixth, so modest, that bishop Ridley asked whether Mrs. Parker had a sister, intimating that such a consort would make him recede from his resolution of a single life [d]; in queen Mary's days not only great her patience to partake of, but industry to relieve her husband's wants; in queen Elizabeth's time so admirable her humility, as no whit elated with prosperity. His exemplary wife.

20. Sir Francis Inglefield, (of whom formerly in the college of Valladolid,) to leave a monument to posterity of his industry and good-will to the catholic cause, he, with William Allen, obtained of pope Gregory the Thirteenth thirteen indulgences for the English nation and the well-wishers of their conversion [e]; whereof this the first: Privileges obtained by sir Francis Inglefield for English catholics.

[d] In D. Parker's Life, extant in Trinity Hall Library in Cambridge.

[e] [See other instances of these indulgences granted to different Englishmen, in Gee's "New Shreds of the old Snare," p. 75, sq. Sir Francis Inglefield was a very zealous supporter of the Roman catholic cause; he kept up a continual correspondence with father Parsons, and assisted Saunders, supporting him for

A.D. 1575. 18 Eliz. "That whosoever should carry about him such "consecrated beads, fast on Wednesday, forbear one "meal on Saturday, pray for the holy father the "pope, the peace of the church, and chiefly for the "reconciling of England, Scotland, and Ireland to "the church of Rome, should have an hundred "years' pardon; but if this fast be observed with "bread and water, a thousand years' pardon."

It may seem in some sort an argument for the antiquity of those indulgences, that they resent of the vivacity of the ancient patriarchs before the Flood in pardoning so many years above the possibility of our age. Now what becometh of the surplusage of these pardons, after the party's life, let others dispute; namely, whether *indulgentia moritur cum persona*, or whether they be bequeathable by will, and in case the person dies intestate, fall, like goods and chattels, to his next heir. Sure I am sir Francis is beheld by catholics as a benefactor-general to our nation; and these grants were solemnly passed *sub annulo piscatoris*, and *Glorierius* attesting the same. This sir Francis was afterwards buried in the English college at Valladolid in Spain, having bountifully contributed to the erecting thereof.

A.D 1576. The death of bishop Pilkington. [Jan. 23.] 21. James Pilkington, bishop of Durham, ended his life, formerly master of St. John's College in Cambridge. He was (as appeareth by many of his letters) a great conniver at nonconformity, and eminent for commencing a suit against queen Elizabeth for the lands and goods of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, after their attainder, as

twelve years. See Strype's An. IV. 192, and the Life of Saunders, prefixed to his treatise De Lutheranorum Dissidiis circa Justificationem. Colon. Agrip. 1594.]

forfeited to him, prince palatine within his diocese. A.D. 1576. 19 Eliz.
But the queen prevailed, because on her charges she had defended bishop and bishopric against that rebellion, when both his infant daughters (conveyed away in beggars' clothes) were sought for to be killed by the papists. These afterwards, with four thousand pounds apiece, were married, the one to sir Henry Harrington, the other to Mr. Dunce of Berkshire; which portions the courtiers of that age did behold with envious eyes, for which the bishopric sped no whit the better.

22. The same year concluded the life of Edward Deering [f], an eminent divine, born of a very ancient and worthy family in Kent, bred fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge, a pious man and painful preacher, but disaffected to bishops and ceremonies. Once, preaching before queen Elizabeth, he told her that when in persecution under her sister queen Mary, her motto was *tanquam ovis*, as a sheep; but now it might be *tanquam indomita juvenca*, as an untamed heifer. But surely the queen still retained much of her ancient motto as a sheep, in that she patiently endured so public, and conceived causeless, reproof, in inflicting no punishment upon him, save commanding him to forbear further preaching at the court. And of Mr. Deering.

23. Rowland Jenkes, a popish bookseller, was indicted at the summer assizes in Oxford for dispersing of scandalous pamphlets defamatory to the queen and state. Here, on a sudden, happened a strange mortality, whereof died A strange mortality at Oxford.

[f] [He was father of the celebrated sir Edward Deering.]

A. D. 1576. 19 Eliz.

Sir Robert Bell, lord chief baron, a great lawyer.
Sir Robert De Oile.
Sir William Babington.
Mr. De Oile, high sheriff.
Mr. Wenman, Mr. Danvers, Mr. Fettiplace, Mr. Harcourt, justices.
Mr. Kerle, Mr. Greenwood, Mr. Foster, Mr. Nash, gentlemen of good account.
Sergeant Bernham, an excellent pleader.

Almost all the jurymen, and of other persons there present three hundred died in the town [g], and two hundred more, sickening there, died in other places within a month; amongst whom not either woman or child [h].

Improved by papists to their advantage.

24. Sanders calleth this *ingens miraculum*, and ascribeth it as a just punishment on the cruelty of the judge for sentencing the stationer to lose his ears [i]; adding moreover, that the protestants (whose philosophers and physicians could not find the natural cause thereof) gave it out that the papists by magic arts had procured this infection. The best is, his words are no slanders.

Sir Francis Bacon his judgment of infectious smells

25. But hear how a profound scholar, no less happy in finding than diligent in searching the mysteries of nature, and utterly unconcerned in this quarrel, delivereth his judgment in the like case [k]:

"The most pernicious infection, next to the "plague, is the smell of the gaol, when prisoners "have been long and close, nastily kept; whereof

[g] Camden's Eliz. in hoc an.
[h] Stow's Chron. p. 681.
[i] De Schism. Angl. p. 300.
[k] Natural Hist. Cent. X. No. 914.

" we have had experience twice or thrice in our A.D. 1577.
" time, when both the judges that sat upon the gaol 20 Eliz.
" and numbers of those that attended the business,
" or were present, sickened upon it and died.
" Therefore it were good wisdom that, in such cases,
" the gaol were aired before they be brought forth;
" otherwise most dangerous are the smells of man's
" flesh, or sweat putrified; for they are not those
" stinks, which the nostrils straight abhor and expel,
" which are most pernicious; but such airs as have
" some similitude with man's body, and so insinuate
" themselves, and betray the spirits[1]."

[1] [Mr. Gilpin, in his "Life of Bernard Gilpin," p. 139, has preserved an original letter, written by an Oxford student resident at that time in the university, describing the effects of this sickness. "The terrible distemper among us," says the writer, "of which you have undoubtedly heard, hath made it indeed a dreadful time to us. During the first six days there died ninety-five, seventy of whom were scholars. This is not conjecture, but appears from the mayor's list. The infection does not confine itself to the town, but begins to spread in the country, where, if our accounts are true, it hath carried off numbers of people. Those who are seized with it are in the utmost torment; their bowels are burnt up, they call earnestly for drink, they cannot bear the touch of clothes, they entreat the standers-by to throw cold water upon them; sometimes they are quite mad, rise upon their keepers, run naked out of houses, and often endeavour to put an end to their lives. The physicians are confounded, declaring they have met with nothing similar either in their reading or practice; the greater part of them, I am told, have now left the town, either out of fear for themselves, or conscious that they can do no good. This dreadful distemper is now generally attributed to some jail infection brought into court at the assizes, for it is remarkable that the first infected were those only who had been there. Few women or old men have died."

Some valuable remarks, containing a detailed account of the progress and effects of this distemper, have been printed in Wood's History of the University under this year. Dr. Birch likewise has inserted, in the Philosophical Transactions,

A. D. 1577. 20 Eliz. Of these mortalities, mentioned by this author, the first probably was this at Oxford, happening within the verge of youthful memory; the other two at Hereford, in the reigns of king James and king Charles. The like chanced, some four years since, at Croydon in Surrey, where a great depopulation happened, at the assizes, of persons of quality; and the two judges, baron Yates and baron Rigby, getting their banes there, died few days after. Yet here no papists were arraigned to amount it to a popish miracle; so that Sanders his observation is no whit conclusive, natural causes being afforded of such casualties.

Many a priest executed. 26. We may remember how, in the year one thousand five hundred seventy and one, a severe law was made against such who brought any superstitious trinkets (badges of the Romish vassalage) into England. This law lay dormant for these last six years, and was never put into execution, that papists might not pretend themselves surprised into punishment through the ignorance of the law, so long a time being allowed unto them that they might take serious cognizance of the said statute in this behalf; and therefore let such catholics who complain of cruelty herein produce a precedent of the like lenity amongst them used to offenders. But now one Nov. 29. Cuthbert Maine, a priest, was drawn, hanged, and quartered at Launceston in Cornwall, for his obstinate maintaining of the papal power; and one Trugion, a gentleman of that county, was condemned to loss of all his goods, and perpetual imprisonment, for affording harbour unto him [m].

some extracts from the registers of Merton College respecting the ravages of this disease.]

[m] [See Bridgewater's Concertatio, f. 50, 291, 301.]

27. Hitherto the English bishops had been vivacious almost to wonder; for, necessarily presumed of good years before entering on their office, in the first of queen Elizabeth, it was much that but five died for the first twenty years of her reign; whereas now seven deceased within the compass of two years [n]. Thus when a generation of contemporary persons begins to crack, it quickly falls; and the leases of their clay cottage, commencing, it seems, much from the same date, at the same term did expire. We will severally reckon them up, the rather because all the remarks of church history for those two years is folded up in their characters. A. D. 1577. 20 Eliz. The vivacity of English protestant bishops.

28. Nicholas Bullingham began the breach, translated from Lincoln to Worcester, whereat my author [o] doth much admire, conceiving (belike) such advancement a degradation; and can only render this reason, that for his own ease he changed a larger for a lesser diocese. But what if Worcester were also the better bishopric, and so the warmer seat for his old age [p]? The death of bishop Bullingham.

29. William Bradbridge, bred in Magdalen College in Oxford, bishop of Exeter, was snatched away with a sudden death; and in the same year Edmund Guest, bishop of Salisbury, bred in King's College in Cambridge, who wrote many books, (reckoned up Jan 27. Feb. 28

[n] We account in this number not any popish bishops, nor Scory and Barlow, protestants, made in the reign of king Edward.

[o] Sir J. Harrington, II. p. 112.

[p] [Of Bullingham, see Wood's Ath. I. 702. He was translated to Worcester in 1571. The writ for restoring to him the temporalities of this see, dated Feb. 14, is printed by Rymer, xv. 689. He died 18th April, 1576, and was succeeded by Whitgift, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Bradbridge died in 1578, and Guest in 1576.]

A.D. 1578. 21 Eliz. by John Bale,) bought and bestowed more on the library of Salisbury, the case whereof was built by bishop Jewel.

Bishop Cheyney, a great Lutheran, wrongfully accused to die a papist

30. Richard Cheyney, bishop of Bristol, holding Gloucester therewith in dispensation, bred in Cambridge, of whom Mr. Camden giveth this character, that he was *Luthero addictissimus*, "most addicted "to Luther [q]." Bishop Godwin saith, *Luthero addictior fortasse quam par erat*, "Perchance more ad-
[April 25.] "dicted to Luther than was meet [r];" adding, moreover, that in the first convocation in the reign of queen Mary he so earnestly opposed popery, that he wondereth how he escaped with life. But I wonder more how, since his death, the scandalous rumour is raised that he died a papist, suspended by archbishop Grindal from his episcopal function; and this one, his successor in that see, will persuade others to believe [s].

His vindication.

31. However, the words of Mrs. Goldsborough, (widow to bishop Goldsborough, of Gloucester,) a grave matron, prevailed with me to the contrary; who at a public entertainment, in the presence of many, and amongst them of my judicious friend [t], gave a just check to this false report, and avowed that to her knowledge he died a true and sincere protestant [u].

[q] Camd. in his Eliz. 1559.

[r] In his catalogue of the bishops of Gloucester.

[s] All my search cannot find out such an instrument in any office. [The successor mentioned here is bishop Goodman.]

[t] Mr. Langley, the worthy schoolmaster of St. Paul's.

[u] [Strype has preserved some interesting anecdotes respecting him in his Annals, I. 280. The secret of this bishop's inclination to Lutheranism consisted in this, that he disliked the proceedings of Hooper, his predecessor in the see of Gloucester, who, as Strype observes, "did not much affect ceremo-

32. Robert Horne succeeded, born in the bishopric of Durham, bred at St. John's in Cambridge, one *valido et fœcundo ingenio*, (saith my author,) "of a "spriteful and fruitful wit [x];" one who would go through whatsoever he undertook, be it against papists or nonconformists; and his adversaries' playing with his name (as denoting his nature hard and inflexible) nothing moved him to abate of his resolution. A.D. 1578. 21 Eliz. June 1.

33. Thomas Bentham followed him, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, bred in Magdalen College Followed by bishop Bentham. Feb 21.

"nies either of habits or orna- "ments of religion, nor allowed "of any manner of corporeal "presence in the sacrament" These statements were diligently promulgated by Hooper and his clerks, and had gained strength and influence in Cheney's time, who, on the contrary, was for retaining many of the ancient customs, and opposed the removal of images, pictures, and crucifixes from their places in the church. Grindal, whose sentiments leaned to the extremities of puritanism, not only disliked him, but appears to have taken some active steps against him; and treasurer Cecil, a back friend of the church, who is said to have revised Camden's History, may not improbably have influenced the historian's pen. Strype has summed his character with impartiality, in the following words: "He was an "excellent man, both in his "nature and his learning, his "urbanity and his manners. "He kept good hospitality for "the citizens and other good "men, and preserved his palace "and farms in good case and "condition. He was in judg- "ment for the unerring of "general councils; and when "that of Carthage was objected "to him, how it erred about "the baptism of heretics, he "said that the Holy Ghost "was promised not to one pro- "vince, but to the church; "adding, that no doctrine could "be shewn that had universally "deceived an œcumenical coun- "cil. And on this he built his "real presence in the sacra- "ment: because this was the "ancient faith, and the Chris- "tian world and the company "of bishops, who were the "keepers of that which was "committed to the church, "(custodes depositi,) held this "doctrine. And he used to "commend these as the inter- "preters of scripture." He died April 25, 1579, between the age of sixty-five and sixty-six.]

[x] Camden's Eliz. in anno 1559. [He died June 1, 1580.]

A. D. 1578. 21 Eliz. in Oxford, of whose Christian valour in that college, against superstition in queen Mary's reign, we have spoken before [y].

The death of bishop Cox. [July 22.] 34. Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, concludes this bill of mortality, tutor to king Edward the Sixth, of whom largely before in the troubles at Frankfort. I am sorry so much is charged on his memory, and so little can be said in his vindication, and would willingly impute it, not to his want of innocence, but ours of intelligence. It moves me much his accusation of covetousness [z], dilapidating, or rather delignating his bishopric, cutting down the woods thereof, for which he fell into the queen's displeasure; but am more offended at his taking (if true) the many ancient manuscripts from Oxford, under the pretence of a visitation. He was an excellent poet, though the verses written on his own tomb are none of the best, and scarce worth our translating:

Vita caduca vale, salveto vita perennis,
Corpus terra tegit, spiritus alta petit;
In terra Christi gallus Christum resonabam,
Da Christe in cœlis, te sine fine sonem.

Frail life farewell, welcome life without end!
Earth hides my corpse, my soul doth heav'n ascend;
Christ's cock on earth, I chanted Christ his name,
Grant without end in heaven I sound the same!

It seems some took exceptions at the epitaph, as parcel-popish, because (though supposing his pos-

[y] [See also the Worthies, III. p. 410. He died in 1579.]

[z] Said to feed his servants with powdered venison, (shrewdly hurt,) to save other meats. Sir J. Harrington, 11. 106, [who mentions this circumstance as a mere suggestion whispered against him to bring him into disrepute with queen Elizabeth. He died in 1581. Strype, An. III. 1. p. 37.]

session) praying for the perpetuation of his happiness; and on that account, twenty years after his death, it was partly demolished. A. D. 1578. 21 Eliz

35. This year also sir Thomas Gresham ended his life, whose Royal Exchange in London, with all the magnificence thereof, could not properly entitle him to a mention in this our Church History, had he not also by his will bequeathed maintenance for the erecting of a college in Bishopsgate Street, allowing an annual salary of fifty pounds to several professors in divinity, civil law, physic, astronomy, geometry, music, and rhetoric. It is therefore no mistake in Mercator [a] when counting three universities in England—Cambridge, Oxford, and London; seeing the last may be so esteemed, both in relation to the inns of court and this college. Gresham college founded by sir Thomas Gresham.

36. The Family of Love began now to grow so numerous, factious, and dangerous, that the privy council thought fit to endeavour their suppression. Being now to deduce the original of this sect, we desire that the clock of time on the margin of our book may stand still, intending not to discompose the method of years therein; though we go backward for a while in our history, to fetch in the beginning of these Familists. Most obscure was their original, according to the apostle's words, *There are certain men crept in unawares* [b]—crept in, shewing the slowness of their pace and the lowness of their posture; the latter proceeding partly from their guiltiness, not daring to go upright, to justify, avouch, and maintain their doctrine; partly out of policy, to work themselves in the more invisibly [c]. But these The obscure original of the Familists.

[a] In his Atlas, p. 66
[b] Jude 4.
[c] Isaiah xxx. 6.

A.D. 1578 21 Eliz.

creepers at first turned fliers afterward, (flying serpents no contradiction;) so that the state accounted it necessary to cut down their arrogancy and increase, whose beginning, with the means thereof, we come now to relate.

Henry Nicholas, their first founder.

37. One Henry Nicholas [d], born in Amsterdam,

[d] [An account of Nicholas and his sect was published by John Rogers, in a little volume entitled "The Displaying of "an horrible Sect of gross "and wicked Heretics, naming "themselves the Family of "Love; with the Lives of "their Authors, and what Doctrine they teach in corners. "Newly set forth by J. R. "Whereunto is added certain "Letters sent from the same "family maintaining their opinions, which Letters are answered by the same J R. "Lond. 1579." The first edition was printed in 1578. In his preface the author says, "Touching his [Nicholas'] "person and behaviour, I have "the testimony of divers ancient persons, and of good "credit, of the Dutch church, "who have been acquainted "with the same H. N., and "have dwelt together in one "city and in one street, being "near neighbours and familiar "friends, who have declared "and testified the certainty of "his behaviour and demeanour. "And touching his doctrine I "have used this order, to set "down the author's own speech, "not adding or diminishing "any thing, with the name of "the book, chapter, and folio." This Henry Nicholas was a disciple of the notorious David George, who fled from Holland, his native country, for fear of being discovered and punished by the magistrates. He died at London, the 16th of August, 1556, and was buried in the parish church of St. Leonard's. Many of his disciples forsook his heresies after his death, deceived in the assurance he had made them that he should never die; but if he did, he would rise again within three years, and fulfil all his former promises. But Henry Nicholas still continued in his errors, disseminating them in his own name, and giving out that he had received them by an immediate revelation from God. His principal disciple was one Christopher Vittel, a joiner, dwelling sometime in Southwark, who went up and down the country to make proselytes, and translated these books of Nicholas, which were written in the Dutch language.

Further information respecting this sect, principally derived from contemporary pamphlets, will be found in Pagitt's Heresiography, p. 105, sq., Dr. Henry More's Grand Explanation of the Mystery of Godliness, Lib. VI. c. 12—18; Jo. Hornbeck, Summa Controvers. Lib. VI. p. 393; and a

first vented this doctrine (about the year 1550) in his own country. He was one who wanted learning in himself, and hated it in others, and yet was conceived, (which at first procured pity unto him,) though of wild and confused notions, with absurd and improper expressions, yet of honest and harmless intentions. Men thought him unable, both to manage his apprehensions whole, (as to make sense of them,) and too weak by distinctions to parcel and divide them, wanting logic for that purpose; and yet they charitably conceived his mind might be better than his mouth, and that he did mean better than he could interpret his own meaning; for, meeting with many places in scripture [e] which speak the union and communion of Christians with Christ, Christ with God, (how quickly are mysteries made blasphemies when unskilful hands meddle with them,) he made of them a most carnal-spiritual exposition. A D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

38. Yea, in process of time he grew so bad, that charity itself would blush to have a favourable thought of his opinions. Not content to confine his errors to his own country, over he comes into England, and in the latter end of the reign of king Edward the Sixth joined himself to the Dutch congregation in London, where he seduced a number of artificers and silly women; amongst whom two His mock-apostolic style.

tract entitled "A Confutation "of certain Articles delivered "unto the Family of Love; "with the Exposition of Theo- "philus, a supposed Elder in "the same Family, upon the "same Articles. By William "Wilkinson, M.A, from Cam- "bridge. Sept. 30, 1579. With "a brief and true Description "of the first springing up of "the Heresy termed the Fa- "mily of Love. With Notes "collected out of their Gospel "by J[ohn] Y[onge,] bishop "of Rochester. Lond. 1579." 4to.]

[e] John xvii. 21, 22, 23, &c.

A D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

daughters of one Warwick (to whom he dedicated an epistle) were his principal perverts. Mr. Martin Micronius and Mr. Nicholas Charineus[f], then the ministers of the Dutch congregation, zealously confuted his errors; but it seems their antidotes pierced not so deep as his poisons. Many of our English nation were by him deceived; and may the reader but peruse this his mock-apostolic style, (his charm to delude silly people therewith,) and let him tell me whether the ape did not well deserve a whip for his over-imitation therein[g]:

"[h] H. N., through the grace and mercy of God,

[f] [According to the tract published by Knewstub, f 89, b, (see below,) Charinæus died about the beginning of Sept 1563.]

[g] In his Evangelium Regni, or the Gospell and joyfull Message of the Kingdome. [In the year 1580 a proclamation was issued against this book and its author. See it in Wilkins, IV 297 The Evangelium Regni was originally written in German, from which it was translated into Latin. A copy of this Latin translation is in the Bodleian; it is a small volume in 12mo, without date, printer's or author's name. A great part of this was translated into English by J. Newstub, in his answer to Nicholas, entitled "A Confutation of monstrous and horrible Heresies taught by H. N., and embraced of a number who call themselves the Familie of Love. By J. Knewstub. Seene and allowed, &c. Imprinted in London, at the Three Cranes in the Vinetree, by Thomas Dawson, for Richard Crozier. 1579." 4to. Black letter. This book is dedicated to Ambrose [Dudley,] earl of Warwick At the end of it is "A Confutation of the Doctrine of David George and H. N., the father of the Familie of Love. By M. Martyn Micronius, Minister of the Woorde in the Dutche Churche at London, under Edward the VI. of blessed memory, king of England; taken out of his booke concerning holy assemblies, whiche hee wrote in Latine a litle before his death, at Nord in East Freeslande; which also afterwards M Nicholas Carinæus set foorth publiquely in printe, certain things being added unto it, translated woorde for woorde into English." The original of this treatise of Micronius I have never been able to discover.]

[h] [This translation is from Knewstub's book, f. 1.]

" and through the Holy Spirit of the love of Jesus A. D. 1580.
" Christ, raised up by the highest God from the 23 Eliz.
" death, according to the providence of God and his
" promises, anointed with the Holy Ghost in the old
" age of the holy understanding of Jesus Christ;
" godded with God in the Spirit of his love; made
" heir with Christ in the heavenly goods of the
" riches of God; illuminated in the Spirit with the
" heavenly truth, the true light of the perfect being;
" elected to a minister of the gracious word, (which
" is now in the last time raised up by God, according
" to his promises,) in the most holy service of God,
" under the obedience of his love."

The followers of this Nicholas assumed to themselves the title of the Family of Love. *Family of faith* we find in scripture[i]; but this new name was one first invented by and falsely applied unto this faction, who might more fitly (from Nicholas, their father and founder) be styled Nicolaitans, as their namesakes (hated by God for their filthiness[k]) were called so from *Nicolas the proselyte of Antioch*[l]. These familists, besides many monstrosities they maintained about their communion with God, attenuated all scriptures into allegories, and, under pretence to turn it into spirit, made them airy, empty, nothing. They counterfeited revelations, and those not explicatory or applicatory of scripture, (such may and must be allowed to God's servants in all ages,) but additional thereunto, and of equal necessity and infallibility to be believed therewith. In a word, as in the small-pox, (pardon my plain and homely, but true and proper comparison,) when at first they

[i] Gal. vi. 10. [k] Rev. ii. 6. [l] Acts vi. 5.

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz

kindly come forth, every one of them may severally and distinctly be discerned; but when once they run and matter, they break one into another, and can no longer be dividedly discovered: so, though at first there was a real difference betwixt Familists, Enthusiasts, Antinomians, (not to add high-flown Anabaptists,) in their opinions, yet (process of time plucking up the pales betwixt them) afterwards they did so interfere amongst themselves, that it is almost impossible to bank and bound their several absurdities.

The familists worse in practice than opinion

39. The practices of these Familists were worse than their opinions. They *grieved the Comforter*, charging all their sins on God's Spirit for not effectually assisting them against the same; accounting themselves as innocent as the *maid forced in the field, crying out, and having none to help her* [m]. Yea, St. Paul's supposition, *Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound* [n]*?* was their position. What he started from, they embraced; what he branded with a *God forbid,* they welcomed with a *Well done, good and faithful servant:* sinning on design, that their wickedness might be a foil to God's mercy, to set it off the brighter.

Their abjuration.

40. The privy council therefore took them into consideration, and tendered unto them this following abjuration [o]:

"Whosoever teacheth that the dead which are "fallen asleep in the Lord rise up in this day of "his judgment, and appear unto us in godly glory, "which shall henceforth live in us everlastingly with

[m] Deut xxii. 27.

[n] Rom vi. 1.

[o] [Supplication of the Family of Love, &c. p. 26. Of this book, see after The author of it possessed the original paper of this abjuration mentioned in the text.]

"Christ, and reign upon the earth, is a detestable A D. 1580.
"heretic. Whosoever teacheth, that to be born of 23 Eliz.
"the Virgin Mary, out of the seed of David after
"the flesh, is to be expounded of the pure doctrine
"out of the seed of love, is a detestable heretic.
"Whosoever teacheth, that Jesus Christ is come
"again unto us, according to his promise, to the
"end that they all which love God and his righte-
"ousness, and Christ and his perfect being, might
"presently enter into the true rest, which God hath
"prepared from the beginning for his elect, and
"inherit the everlasting life, is a detestable heretic."

No fewer than ten of the privy council tendered this abjuration to each Familist, but with what success I find not [p]. If any of these Familists were of their opinion in higher Germany, who were called *liberi fratres* [q], "free brethren," who maintained themselves delivered by Christ from all covenants, vows, and debts, (if from prison, too, on denial of payment, it were excellent,) all was to little purpose, seeing a bird may as soon be impounded as these spirits confined by any oaths or carnal obligation.

[p] [With very little, as it should seem, since they grew very numerous. See after. The author of the "Supplication, "&c." observes, "Have they "[the family of love] not heard "nor known of these things "by lawful authority per-"formed, which were both "heard and made known both "in court and country; the "party, some of them and the "chiefest, yet living and in "court which so abjured; and "their children in right ancient "place about his majesty, be-"fore whom they abjured?" p. 28 See also a letter of John Woolton, bishop of Exeter, to lord treasurer Burleigh, commenting upon the increase of this sect in his diocese. 6th June, 1581. Strype's Annals, App. III. p. 11.]

[q] See Rutherford's Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist, p. 11.

A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz. Pass we from them to others more dangerous, because more learned, even the Jesuits, (hoping at last to light on the temperate zone, when we have done with these dull, frozen, ignorant sectaries, and fiery, torrid, over-active papists,) whereof two principal ones, Parsons and Campian, living at Rome, importuned his holiness for license to come over into England [r].

Parsons and Campian come into England. Their several characters

41. Having obtained this gracious faculty, over they come into England, and distil superstition and disloyalty into the queen's subjects. This Parsons was a Somersetshire man, formerly of Balliol College in Oxford, till for his dishonesty he was expelled with disgrace [s]. But what Oxford cast away for dross Rome received for gold, entertaining and rewarding him as a man of a daring and undertaking spirit, and of a nature turbulent and seditious. Campian, born in London, and bred in St. John's College of the same university, (whereof he was proctor, anno 1568,) was one of a sweet nature, constantly carrying about him the charms of a plausible behaviour; of a

[r] [They were the special persons to whom was entrusted the executing of the sentence of the bull of pope Pius V. See their faculties in the "Execution of Justice, &c." Somers' Tracts, I. 197. See also Carleton's Thank. Rem. 57.]

[s] Camden's Eliz. anno 1580. [These insinuations against father Parsons must be received with caution. From his activity and great abilities he was greatly disliked by his opponents, who were of two sorts, the seminary priests and the protestants No man served his church with greater zeal, nor gave greater activity to the decaying elements of Romanism. Almost all the foreign colleges which were erected during this reign for the maintenance of the Romish religion owed their foundation to his exertions. It is not indeed fair to judge a man by his writings, but one can scarcely conceive the author of "The Christian Directory" to have been an immoral man, much less of the debased character which his enemies represent him,—a book unrivalled in its kind.]

fluent tongue and good parts, which he knew how to shew to the best advantage. These two effectually advanced the Roman cause, appearing in moe several shapes than Proteus himself—in the disguised habits of soldiers, courtiers, ministers of the word, apparitors, as they were advised by their profit and safety [t]; and, as if his holiness had infused an ubiquitariness into them, they acted in city, court, and country. Parsons was the axe to hew knotty controversies, where deep learning was needful; Campian was the planer, to come after him and smooth matters with his eloquence: yea, the former frighted fearful people into popery with his fierceness; the latter flattered them in it with his courteous behaviour [u]. But none can give a better account of Campian's proceedings than this his own letter which followeth: A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

"To the right reverend father Everard Mercurian,
"provost general of the society of Jesus [v].

"After that, trusting on God's goodness, I live "now the fifth month in these parts, I thought it

[t] [Personating a captain returning from Flanders to England; provided "with a dress "of buff, layd with gold lace, "with hatt and feather suited "to the same." From Parson's Journal, in Collectanea S.J., p. 145, printed at Exeter, 1838.]

[u] [Campian possessed more showy than solid abilities. His chief tract, "Decem Rationes "propositæ in Causa fidei," published in his Opuscula by Sylv. Petra Sancta, is more remarkable for elegancy and fluency of style than solid reasoning, for bold and unfounded assertions, put forth indeed in very neat and lively Latinity. The most complete Life of Campian was written by Paulo Bembino, a Jesuit, and published at Antwerp, 1618. 12mo. Other tracts relating to him will be found in Wood's life of him in the Athen. I. p 356. Father Parsons was a very tall and handsome man, with a pleasing address, to which on more than one occasion he was indebted for his safety.]

[v] [The original, in Latin, is printed in Bridgewater's Concert. Eccl. Cath. p. 3, and in

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz. "my duty, reverend father, to acquaint you by letters what the state of our matters is, and what it "is likely to be; for I know full well that you "desire to know what I do, what I hope, how I "profit; and that both out of constant care for the "common good, and also out of the great love you "bear unto myself. The former I wrote from St. "Omer's: now receive, in few words, what things "have since happened unto us.

"I impute it as proceeding from Divine Providence, that, whereas I had waited four full days "for a prosperous wind [x], at "last on the fifth (which "was the feast of John Baptist, and my tutelary "saint, to whom I had often commended both my "cause and journey) at even we put forth to sea. "The next day very early we arrived at Dover, I "and my little man, where we escaped very narrowly that both of us were "not taken [y]. Being commanded, we appear before "the major of the town; he "conjectures several things, "guessing us to be, what indeed we were; namely, enemies to the heretical party, lovers of the old religion, "that we had dissembled our names, gone away for "religion, being returned with desire to propagate "it. One thing he pressed, that I was Alan, which I

[x] A good wind which blows a traitor to Tyburn.

[y] Ominous that his foot should stumble at the threshold, newly landed in the kingdom. 'Tis probable he that was suspected at his coming in will be detected before his going out.

Campian's Opusc. by Sylv. Petra Sancta, p. 408. Antv. 1631. This letter is not translated with Fuller's usual accuracy; but this is not so much a fault of his own as of the incorrectness of the edition of this letter which he used. See a notorious instance at p 417. Wherever the translation seemed faulty, I have given the original in the notes.]

" denied; and, if need had been, I would have de- A.D 1580.
" posed the contrary on my oath [z]. 23 Eliz.

" At last he determines, and this he often repeats, " that we ought to be sent with a guard to the " privy council; nor do I know who altered his " mind, except it were God, to whom in the mean " time I made my silent supplication, using the " intercession of St. John, by whose favour I came " thither. Presently out came the old man, (well " fare his heart for it:) 'It is our pleasure,' said he, " 'that you shall be dismissed [a]. " Farewell!' Away we flew. " These and the like things " which here I find, when I " recount them with myself, I am confirmed in this " opinion, that when the matter shall make more " for God's glory, then I shall be taken, and not " before [b].

[a] See how a crafty, equivocating Jesuit is an over-match for a country well-meaning magistrate.

" I arrive at London. A " good angel led me, without " my knowledge, to the same house which had for- " merly received father Robert. Many gentlemen " run to me, salute me, clothe me, adorn me, arm " me, send me out of the city [c]. " Every day almost I ride " about some coast of the " country [d]. The harvest is " altogether very great. Sit- " ting on my horse I meditate a short sermon, which, " coming into the house, I perfectly polish. After- " ward, if any come to me, I discourse with them, or

[b] Caiaphas. Truly prophesied, if truly applied.

[c] Heu, quanta patimur? O pitiful persecution, enough almost to make an epicure complain of hard usage!

[z] [Rather, " I professed my " willingness to depose the con- " trary on my oath, if he re- " quired it."]

[d] ['Partem aliquam regionis.']

A.D. 1580 23 Eliz

"hear their confessions. In the morning, service being "done, I make a sermon; they bring thirsty ears, "and most frequently [e] receive the sacraments.

"In the administering of them we are assisted by "the priests, whom we find every where. Thus it "comes to pass that both the people are pleased, "and the work is made less wearisome unto us. "Our countrymen which are priests, being them-"selves eminent for learning and holiness, have raised "such a reverend esteem of our order, that I con-"ceive that veneration which the catholics give us "is not to be mentioned but "with some fear [f]; wherefore "the more care is to be taken "that such as shall be sent as "a supply unto us (whom now "we very much want) may be "so qualified that they may well undertake all these "things [g]. Above all things, "let them be well exercised "in preaching. We cannot "long escape the hands of "heretics, so many are the "eyes, the tongues, and treach-"eries of our enemies [h].

"I am in a most antique "habit [i], which I often change [k], "as also my name [l]. Just now "I read a letter, in whose front "it is written, 'Campian is "taken.' This old song now

[f] Lest the world should know how simple people give, and shameless Jesuits take, so much honour where so little is due.

[g] With fair tongues, false hearts, cunning heads, and bold faces. Campian is the copy, and the rest must be like him.

[h] His predictions were indicted from his guiltiness. Offenders fear what they deserve.

[k] His often changing speaks him but a valiant coward in the cause.

[l] Homo multorum nominum, non boni nominis.

[e] ['Frequentissimi,' in great crowds.]

[i] ['Habitu dementissimo.' He travelled in the disguise of a puritan See Ware's Foxes, &c., 138]

" so rings in mine ears, wheresoever I come, that A. D. 1580.
" very fear hath driven all fear from me: my life is 23 Eliz.
" always in my hand. Let them that shall be sent
" hither for our supply bring this along with them,
" well thought on beforehand [m].

" But the comforts which are mingled in this
" matter are such as not only do recompence the
" fear of pain, but any pains whatsoever, with an
" infinite pleasure; namely, a pure conscience, un-
" conquered strength, incredible zeal [n]. Eminent
" work we have effected: innumerable number of
" converts, high, low, of the middle rank, of all ages
" and sexes. Hence it is grown into a proverb
" amongst the heretics themselves, that if any of
" them be better natured than others, they pre-
" sently call them catholics [o],
" who will pay the debts which
" they owe; insomuch that if
" any catholics should chance
" to use a man hardly, he is expostulated with in
" this respect, that in no case such things ought to
" be done by men of their profession.

[o] Would the catholics would themselves pay the twenty pound a month which they owe to the king for their recusancy!

" In brief, heresy is ill reported of all; nor is
" there any sort of men more vile and rotten than
" are their ministers [p]. We
" are deservedly full of indig-
" nation, that in so bad a
" cause men so unlearned, so
" wicked, so dissolute, so vile,
" do domineer over most flourishing wits.

[p] Thus when the hernshaw cannot beat the hawk with strength, she dungs upon him. Railing must help where reason wants.

[m] ['Hoc afferant meditatum.']

[n] ['Verum quæ solatia in hoc negotio miscentur ea non solum formidinem pœnæ, sed et pœnas quaslibet infinita dulcedine compensant. Conscientia pura, robur invictum, ardor incredibilis, opera insignis, numerus innumerabilis, summi, medii, infimi, omni ætate et sexu.']

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz. "Most threatening edicts are carried about against "us. By wariness, and the prayers of good people, "and (which is the main) by God's goodness, we "have in safety gone over a great part of the island. "I see many forgetting themselves to be careful "for us[q]. Something happened, in those days, by "God's will, which I did not "so much as hope for.

q Good affections ill employed. God send them less heat or more light!

"I had articulately[r] set down in writing our "points, and certain most equal demands, confessing "myself to be a priest of the society, coming with "an intent to amplify the catholic faith, teach the "gospel, administer sacraments. I requested audience of the queen and the peers of the realm, and "challenged my adversaries "to the combat[s]. I resolved "to keep one copy to myself, "that it might be carried to "the judges with me; another I had committed to "my friend, with this intent, that if they took me "and my copy, the other should presently be spread "abroad[t].

s Bar challenging.—They that long most for duels first surfeit of them.

"My friend did not conceal it, he published it, it "is worn in every man's hand. Our adversaries are "stark mad. Out of their pulpits their preachers "answer, that they indeed desire it, but the queen "is not willing that, matters now being settled, "there should be any farther disputation. They "rend us with their railings, call us seditious, hypo-

r ["Articulate," by heads or articles.]

t [Compare with this the advertisement to the two English universities, prefixed to the X. Rationes. Campiani Opusc. p. 11.]

" crites, yea, and heretics also, which is most laughed A. D. 1580.
" at. The people in this point are altogether ours. 23 Eliz.
" This error hath made marvellously for our advan-
" tage. If we be commanded on the public faith,
" *dabimus non curiam* [u]. But they intend nothing less.

" All our prisons are filled with catholics; new
" ones are preparing. Now at last they openly
" maintain that it is better to deliver a few traitors
" over to death, than to betray the souls of so many
" men. Now they say nothing of their own martyrs,
" for we conquer in cause, number, dignity, and the
" opinion of all men.

" We produce, for a few apostates or cobblers
" burnt, bishops [x], [*regulos*,]
" petty princes, knights, and
" most eminent of the gentry,
" (mirrors of learning, honesty,
" and wisdom,) the choicest
" youth, illustrious matrons,
" the rest of middle estate
" almost innumerable, all of
" them at once or every day consumed. Whilst I
" write these things a most cruel persecution rageth [y]:
" the house is sad; for they presage either the death
" of their friends, or that, to save their lives, they
" must hide, be in prison, or suffer the loss of all
" their goods; yet they go on courageously.

[x] Not one popish bishop put to death, nor peer of the realm, save for actual rebellion, in all the queen's reign; whereas in the Marian days we had an archbishop and four bishops burnt for mere matters of conscience.

" Very many even now are reconciled to our
" church. New soldiers enlist their names, and old
" ones freely shed their blood. Herewith, and with

[u] So my printed copy, wherein I suspect some mistake. [It should be, 'dabimus nos in curiam.']

[y] ['Mœsta domus; nam aut mortem suorum prædicant, aut latebras, aut vincula, aut rapinam bonorum.']

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

"these holy sacrifices, God will be merited, and out "of doubt in short time we shall overcome. You "see therefore, reverend father, how much we need "your sacrifices, prayers, and heavenly assistance.

"There will be some in England who may pro- "vide for their own safety, and there will be those "who may promote the good of others. Man may "be angry, and the devil mad: so long the church "here will stand, whilst the shepherds are not want- "ing to their sheep. I am hindered with a report "of a most present danger, that I can write no more "at this time. *Let God arise, and let his enemies be* "*scattered.*

"Farewell.

"EDMOND CAMPIAN."

Campian catched by Walsingham's setters.

Secretary Walsingham, one of a steady head, (no more than needful for him, who was to dive into such whirlpools of state,) laid out for Campian's apprehension[z]. Many were his lime-twigs to this purpose; some of his emissaries were bred in Rome itself. It seems his holiness was not infallible in every thing, who paid pensions to some of Walsingham's spies sent thither to detect catholics: of these Slade and Elliot were the principal. Surely these setters could not accomplish their ends but with deep dissembling and damnable lying. If any account such officers evils, I deny it not, but add them to be necessary evils, in such a dangerous juncture of time. Always set a —— to catch a ——; and

[z] [Wood's Ath. I. 206. See a narrative of the apprehension of Campian, Sherwin, and Briant, written by an eyewitness, as it is stated in p. 121, and translated out of French into Latin by James Laing, and published by him at the end of his Life of Beza, p. 112, ed. 1585.]

the greatest deer-stealers make the best park-keepers. Indeed these spies were so cunning, they could trace a labyrinth without the guidance of a clue of thread, and knew all bye corners at home and abroad. At last Elliot[a] snapt Campian in his own lodging[b], and in great triumph he was carried to the Tower. A D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

42. The papists tell us of seven deadly racks in the Tower, all of them exercised on some or other their prisoners therein: one rack called the duke of Exeter's, the other the scavenger's daughter, and these haply had their grandchildren. God keep all good men in the joyful ignorance of them and their issue[c]. Campian is said thrice or four times to have been tortured on them, *ad luxationem, ac quassationem omnium membrorum*[d], if the report thereof be not racked beyond the proportion of truth. However, we request the ingenuous, Pretended cruelty in racking papists.

43. First, to consider there scarce passed a leap-year wherein the papists did not lay their eggs, or hatch some treason against the queen, which excuseth such severity used to detect conspiracies. Secondly, I find when father Briant, a priest, was racked most cruelly[e], he confesseth *se nihil quicquam doloris sensisse*, "that he felt no pain at all." Were this false, I wonder so religious a man would report it; Excused in some degree.

[a] [Elliot was originally a Roman catholic. Wood's Ath. I. 474.]

[b] [At the house of Edward Yates, esq., at Lyford in Berkshire, where Parsons was also formerly lodged, as is stated in the above letter. See Wood, ib., and Laing, p. 113; so also More's Hist. Soc. Jesu, p. 86.]

[c] [See a clever little tract, by Jardine, upon the application of torture in criminal cases.]

[d] Sanders, De Schism. Anglicano, p. 409.

[e] Ribadeneira his continuation of Sanders De Schism. Ang. in his Diary, an. 1581, month of March.

A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

were it true, I wonder that Campian (every inch as religious as Briant) had not the same miraculous favour indulged to him. Thirdly, Campian, presently after his racking, wrote letters with his own hand[f]; which shews he was not so disjointed with such cruelty as is pretended. Lastly, those who complain of Campian's usage have forgotten, or will not remember, how Anne Askew and Cuthbert Simpson, on whom no shadow of treason could be charged, were most cruelly and causelessly racked by popish persecutors, as a preface to their ensuing martyrdom[g].

[f] Camd. Eliz. in this year.

[g] [The punishment of Campian seems to have been much talked about at this time, since I find it touched upon in a conference held with him by Alexander Nowell, dean of St Paul's, and W. Daiie, dean of Windsor, Aug. 31, 1581. They demand of him why he charged the queen's government with practising unusual cruelty against the Romanists, seeing that the professors of that religion had burnt alive many protestants for the maintenance of their religion only; whereas none of them had been executed otherwise than for treason, and for breaking the laws of the realm. "Whereunto he answered that he was punished "for religion himself, and had "been twice on the rack, and "that racking was more grievous than hanging." Upon this, "master lieutenant, [sir "Owen Hopton,] being presented, said he had no cause to "complain of racking, who "had rather seen than felt the "rack, and admonished him "to use good speech, that he "gave not cause to be used "with more severity. 'For "although,' said he, 'you were "put to the rack, yet notwithstanding you were so favourably used therein, as being "taken off, you could and did "presently go thence to your "lodging, without help, and "use your hands in writing, "and all other parts of your "body, which you could not "have done if you had been "put to that punishment with "any such extremity as you "speak of.'" See "A true "Report of the Disputation "or rather private Conference "had in the Tower of London "with Edmund Campian, Jesuit, the last of August 1581. "Set down by the reverend "learned men themselves that "dealt therein. Imprinted at "London, &c." Jan. 1, 1583. 4to. "Master lieutenant" is probably the same person that

44. We leave Campian for a time in a safe place, where we are sure to find him at our return, to behold how it fared with father Parsons, diligently sought for by Walsingham's setters, and therefore as eminent for making his three escapes as writing his three conversions: A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz. Parsons his three wonderful escapes.

i. By hiding himself in a stack of hay, hard by a public inn, whither messengers were sent to attach him.

ii. Being amused with grief, and fear, and fright, he could not find an house in London (otherwise well known unto him) whither he intended to go; and by losing his way saved his life, that place being beset with soldiers to apprehend him [h].

iii. When scarce gone out of an house on the Thames side, but the same was searched by the officers, who routed an army of crucifixes, medals, Agnus Dei's, and other papish trinkets therein.

To these a fourth may be added, more miraculous than all the rest: when Parsons was apprehended by a pursuivant at Northwich in Cheshire, and put into a chamber fast bolted and locked upon him, the door did, three times together, miraculously and of its own accord fly open [i].

45. By the reader's favour, as I dare not deny belief to this passage attested by a catholic father, so I cannot but wonder thereat. Peter and Paul Our observation on his fourth escape.

Laing's narrative entitles "cus- "tos carceris Londini, homo "pessimus ac sceleratissimus, "totus hæresi Calvini infectus;" who, according to the same authority, gave out that Campian intended to abjure his faith at Paul's Cross. Laing, ib. p. 115, 116.]

[h] Continuatio Sanderi De Schism. Ang. pag. 404.

[i] Sheldon of Miracles, p. 25, in Gee's Foot out of the Snare, 71.

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz. each of them had once their prison doors open[k]. Parsons exceeds them both: three several solemn times his prison was set open. Did he not tempt Divine Providence, which once and again offered unto him a way to escape, to expect a third call to come forth? Had Providence (angry that the courtesy, twice tendered, was not accepted) left him alone, none would have pitied him if caught and sent to keep company with his dear friend father Campian in the Tower.

Parsons politicly returneth to Rome.

46. But Parsons knew full well that miracles, though cordials in extremity, are no bill of fare for men's daily diet, and therefore he must not constantly expect such wonderful deliverances; besides no doubt he remembered what passed in the fable, though this his good genius had helped him at a dead lift, yet the same intended not to wear out all his shoes, and to go barefoot himself, in making a trade constantly to preserve him[l]. Wherefore, *juniores ad labores*, let younger men take the task and trouble upon them. This wary bird would not be catched, to whistle in the cage to the tune of Walsingham; wherefore over he went to Rome, and there slept in a whole skin, as good reason it was so great a general should secure his person from danger.

[k] Acts xii. 7, and xvi 26.

[l] [Watson, in his Quodlibets, has with great vehemence exposed the ambitious yet dastardly proceedings (as he terms them) of father Parsons. See particularly p. 128, sq.]

SECT. IV.

TO

MR. JAMES BOVEY,

OF LONDON, MERCHANT [a].

One (if not the only) good which our civil war hath produced, is, that on the ransacking of studies, many manuscripts, which otherwise would have remained concealed, and useful only for private persons, have been printed for the public benefit. Amongst which, some may suspect the following letter of archbishop Grindal to be one.

But to clear that scruple, I must avow, that a reverend person [b] *was proprietary of an authentic copy thereof, before the thing plunder was owned in England, and may (I shall well hope) notwithstanding his grey hairs remain so, after it is disclaimed.*



NOW that a parliament and convocation being this year called, the latter appeared rather a trunk than a body, because Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, groaning under the queen's displeasure, was forbidden access to the convocation [c]. Whereupon it begun sadly, not to say

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

A petition in the name of the whole convocation for the restitution of archbishop Grindal.

[a] [Arms. Ermine, on a bend party per bend azure and sable, three guttes d'eau, between two hawks. In the Pisgah Sight, (P. II. p. 60,) Fuller again celebrates this gentleman for his liberality to learned men, styling him "litteratorum "et litterarum fautor." Unfortunately I have not been able to find any other trace of him.]

[b] [James Usher, then] archbishop of Armagh.

[c] [He was sequestred and

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz. sullenly, without the solemnity of a sermon, abruptly entering on the small business they had to do. Some hotspurs therein motioned, that they should refuse to meet together, till their company were completed, and the archbishop restored unto them. But the gravity of the rest soon retrenched this distemper, and at last all agreed, that Tobie Matthew [c], dean of Christ Church, (commanding a pure and fluent pen,) should in the name of the convocation, draw an humble supplication to her majesty for the restitution of the archbishop to his place, which was done according to the tenor following.

" Serenissimæ ac potentissimæ reginæ Elizabethæ,
" Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei de-
" fensatrici, &c.

" Etsi majestatem regiam sive verbo, sive scripto
" interpellare, serenissima princeps Elizabetha, non
" decere, nisi rarius, non licere, nisi gravioribus de
" causis arbitramur; tamen cum præcipiat apostolus,
" ut dum tempus habeamus benefacimus omnibus,
" maxime vero domesticis fidei, committere nullo
" modo possumus, quin illud hoc tempore a tua cel-
" sitate humiliter contendamus, quod nobis ad pe-
" tendum utile et necessarium, toti ecclesiæ et

confined to his house for six months, after he had written his celebrated letter to the queen in defence of these exercises, printed at p. 435, &c. This was in June, 1577. But still continuing resolved in his former opinion, his authority was entrusted to delegates, nor did he recover it till some considerable time after, Strype thinks in the year 1582, after he had made the required submission to the queen. See Strype's Grind. p. 272. who has also printed a large extract from the archbishop's confession.]

[c] [Afterwards archbishop of York.]

" reipublicæ ad obtinendum salutare et fructuosum, A.D. 1580.
" tuæ denique majestati ad concedendum perfacile 23 Eliz.
" et honorificum sit futurum. Quanquam igitur
" acerbissime dolemus et contristamur, reverendis-
" simum patrem Cantuariensem archiepiscopum
" post tot annos, in tantam tamque diuturnam ma-
" jestatis tuæ offensionem incidisse, tamen valde
" vehementer speramus, nos veniam adepturos, si
" pro uno multi, pro archiepiscopo episcopi, pro
" tanto præsule tot ministri, serio et suppliciter in-
" tercedamus. Quod si deprecantium authoritas in
" petitione valeret, hæc causa jamdudum a nobilibus
" viris, si voluntas ab amicissimis, si experientia
" a prudentissimis, si religio a reverendissimis, si
" multitudo a plurimis; sicut nostræ partes nullæ
" nunc aliæ videantur, quam ut orationem cum illo-
" rum rationibus, nostras preces cum illorum peti-
" tionibus supplicissime ac demississime conjunga-
" mus.

" Ut enim Cæsar Octavius jucundissimus prop-
" terea fuisse scribitur, quod apud eum quoties quis-
" que voluit, dixit, et quod voluit, dum humiliter;
" sic ex infinitis illis virtutibus, quibus regium tuum
" pectus abunde cumulatur, vix ulla vel majestati
" tuæ honorificentior, vel in populum tuum gra-
" tiosior existit, quam in admittendis hominibus
" facilitas, in causis audiendis lenitas, prudentia in
" secernendis, in satisfaciendis pietas et clementia.
" Nihil est enim tam populare quam bonitas; atque
" principes ad præpotentem Deum nulla re propius
" accedunt, quam offensionibus deponendis, et obli-
" viscendis injuriis, non dicimus septies, sed sep-
" tuagies septies. Nam, si decem millia talentorum
" dimittantur nobis, nonne nos fratribus, conservis,

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

" subditis, centum denarios condonabimus? Liceat
" enim nobis illud Christi præceptum, ad istud insti-
" tutum, bona tua cum pace accommodare. Præ-
" sertim cum hortetur apostolus, ut mansuetudo
" nostra nota sit omnibus; Christusque jubeat, ut
" misericordes simus sicut Pater noster cœlestis mi-
" sericors est. Vinum in vulnus infundere salutare
" est, et salutarius oleum; Christus utrumque adhi-
" buit. Judicium cantare, Domino jucundum est, ac
" jucundius misericordiam; David utrumque per-
" fecit. Gratiosa est in omnibus hominibus clemen-
" tia, in proceribus gratiosior, in principe vero gra-
" tiosissima. Gloriosa est regi mansuetudo, reginæ
" gloriosior, virgini vero gloriosissima: si non sem-
" per, at sæpius; si non in omnes, at in pios; si non
" in vulgus, at in magistratus, at in ministros, at in
" eum qui in tam sublimi loco constitutus, magna
" apud nos authoritate, magna apud alios existima-
" tione, summa in sacratissimam tuam majestatem
" fide et observantia præditus; ut non sæpe in vita
" deliquisse, sed semel tantum in vita displicuisse
" videatur, idque non tam præfracta voluntate, quam
" tenera conscientia, cujus tantam esse vim magni
" authores et optimi quique viri scripserunt, ut quic-
" quid, ea vel reclamante vel errante vel hæsitante
" fiat, non leve peccatum esse statuerint. Ac ut
" quod verum est ingenue et humiliter attendamus,
" et illud omnium quod unum agitur, vel necessario
" silentio vel voluntaria oblectatione obruamus; si
" laudabile est, vitam non modo ab omni crimine
" sed suspicione criminis liberam traduxisse, tra-
" duxit; si honestum religionem ab omni non
" modo papistica corruptela sed a schismatica pra-
" vitate integram conservare, conservavit; si Chris-

" tianum, non modo propter justitiam persecutio- A. D. 1580.
" nem passum esse sed per cæteras nationes propter 23 Eliz.
" evangelium, oberrasse; et passus est, et oberravit.

" Quæ cum ita sint, regina clementissima, omnes
" hæ nostræ voces ad celsitudinem tuam profectæ,
" hoc unum demississime, et quam fieri potest sub-
" jectissime comprecantur, idque per singularem na-
" turæ tuæ bonitatem, per anteactæ tuæ vitæ con-
" suetudinem, per pietatem regiam in subditos, per
" charitatem Christianam in inimicos, perque eam,
" qua reliquos omnes et privatos, et principes ex-
" cellis lenitatem; ut velis majestatem tuam man-
" suetudine, justitiam misericordia, iram placabili-
" tate, offensionem indulgentia mitigare; et archi-
" episcopum mœrore fractum, et debilitatum, non
" modo extollere jacentem, sed ecclesiam ipsi, ipsum
" ecclesiæ, tuis civibus, suis fratribus, exteris natio-
" nibus, denique piis omnibus tandem aliquando
" restituere. Quod si fecerit majestas tua, vel po-
" tius cum fecerit (quod enim summe cupimus,
" summe etiam sperare jucundum est) non dubita-
" mus, quin illum reverendissimum patrem, sup-
" plicem, et abjectum, non tam ad pedes, quam ad
" nutus tuos perpetuo sis habitura. Ita celsitati
" tuæ persancte pollicemur, nobis neque in ecclesia
" constituenda curam, neque in religione propa-
" ganda studium, neque in schismatibus tollendis
" diligentiam, neque in hoc beneficio præcipue reco-
" lendo memoriam, neque in ferendo quas debemus
" gratias, gratam animi benevolentiam ullo unquam
" tempore defuturam.

" Dominus Jesus majestatem tuam, ad reipublicæ
" tranquillitatem, ad ecclesiæ conservationem, ad

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz. "suæ veritatis amplificationem, omni felicitatis ge-
"nere diutissime prosequatur."

This petition, though presented with all advantage, found no other entertainment than delays, which ended in a final denial; it being daily suggested to the queen, that Grindal was a great patron of prophesyings (now set up in several parts of the land) which, if permitted to take place, would in fine prove the bane of the church and commonwealth [d].

The model and method of prophesyings.

2. These prophesyings were founded on the apostle's precept, *For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all be comforted* [e]; but so, as to make it out, they were fain to make use of human prudential additions, modelling their prophesyings as followeth.

i. The ministers of the same precinct, by their own appointment (not strictly standing on the old division of deaneries) met at the principal place therein.

ii. The junior divine went first into the pulpit, and for half an hour, more or less, (as he could with clearness contract his meditations,) treated upon a portion of scripture, formerly by a joint-agreement assigned unto him. After him, four or five moe, observing their seniority successively dilated on the same text.

iii. At last a grave divine, appointed on purpose as father of the act, made the closing sermon, somewhat larger than the rest, praising the pains and

[d] [For an account of these exercises, and Grindal's concern in them and subsequent troubles, see Strype's Life of Grind, p. 219. 230.]

[e] 1 Cor. xiv. 13.

performance of such who best deserved it; meekly and mildly reproving the mistakes and failings of such of those, if any were found in their sermons. Then all was ended as it was begun, with a solemn prayer; and at a public refection of those ministers together, with many of the gentry repairing unto them, the next time of their meeting was appointed, text assigned, preachers deputed, a new moderator elected or the old one continued, and so all were dissolved [f]. A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

This exercise proved, though often long, seldom tedious; and people's attentions, though travelling far, were little tired, because entertained with much variety.

3. However, some inconveniences were seen and more foreseen by wise, or at least suspected by fearful men, if these prophecies might generally take place in the land. The inconveniences of prophesyings detected, or suspected.

i. Many modest ministers, and those profitable preachers in their private parishes, were loth to appear in this public way, which made them undeservedly slighted and neglected by others.

ii. Many young men, of more boldness than learning, readiness than solidity, carried away the credit, to the great disheartening of those of more age and ability.

iii. This consort of preachers kept not always time and tune amongst themselves, much jarring of personal reflections often disturbing their harmony.

[f] [The chief objections to these exercises are embodied in the queen's letter to the bishops throughout England, directing the suppression of these and all other rites and ceremonies but such as were prescribed by her. This letter will be found in Strype's Grindal, App. p. 85.]

A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz

iv. Many would make impertinent excursions from their text, to inveigh against the present discipline and government of the church; such preachers being more plausible to the people, generally best pleased with them who manifest their displeasure against the present authority.

v. A wise person was often wanting to moderate the moderator, partially passing his censures, rather according to affection than judgment.

vi. People factiously cried up, some one minister, some another, to the disgrace of God's ordinance.

vii. These prophesyings, being accounted the fairs for spiritual merchandizes, made the weekly markets for the same holy commodities on the Lord's day to be less respected, and ministers to be neglected in their respective parishes.

viii. In a word, the queen was so perfectly prepossessed with prejudice against these prophesyings, as if they foretold the rise of schism and faction, that she was implacably incensed against archbishop Grindal as the principal patron and promoter thereof.

However, the good archbishop, to vindicate himself and state the usefulness of these prophesyings, wrote a large letter to the queen; and although we cannot exactly tell the just time thereof[g], yet, knowing it will be welcome to the pious reader at any time, here we present the true copy thereof[h]:

[g] To the day and month, being confident this was the year.

[h] [The copy of the letter from which that in the text has been printed is in a volume of sir Henry Yelverton's Collections, in the library of All Souls College in Oxford, and approaches nearer to the one printed by Strype in his Life of Grindal, App. p. 74, than any other transcript which I have seen. They are by no means

[" 20th Dec. 1578.] A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

The most remarkable letter of archbishop Grindal, in defence of prophecies and church jurisdiction.

" With most humble remembrance of my bounden " duty to your majesty, it may please the same to " be advertised, that the speeches which it hath " pleased you to deliver unto me when I last attended " your highness concerning the abridging the num- " ber of preachers, and the utter suppression of all " learned exercises and conferences among the " ministers of the church, allowed by their bishops " and ordinaries, have exceedingly dismayed and " discomforted me; not so much for that the said " speeches sounded very hardly against mine own " person, being but one particular man, and not

uncommon. Strype, according to his own account, printed this letter " from an authentic copy " sent by the archbishop him- " self to the lord treasurer, " endorsed by that nobleman's " own hand;" subjoining the following observation: "Though " Fuller hath printed it already, " yet it is very faulty, false, " and imperfect; he mistook " also in assigning the time " when it was writ, which he " is confident was in the year " 1580; whereas it appears to " have been writ four years " before, viz. in December " 1576, for that is the date it " bears in the copy aforesaid. " And here we may correct " him in one error more, which " is, that about the time of the " writing of that letter he saith " Leicester took occasion to " quarrel with the archbishop, " and would have gotten Lam- " beth House from him; and " that that was indeed the " reason of the queen's dis- " pleasure, that nobleman hav- " ing secretly embittered her " against him. But by what " was said before, he and the " archbishop seemed now to be " good friends, since the arch- " bishop made him the deli- " verer of his letter to the " queen." Life of Grindal, p. 224. The date of the copy in the Yelverton collection differs two years from Strype's; and in both, probably, other variations would be discovered from the original, if it could be found; as it is by no means unusual for even authentic copies of the same document to vary greatly from each other. I have not omitted to search the State Paper Office, (to which I was allowed access by the condescension of lord John Russell,) in order if possible to discover the original of this memorable letter; but it does not appear in that depository.]

A D. 1580. 23 Eliz. "much to be accounted of, but most of all for that "the same might both tend to the public harm of "God's church, whereof your highness ought by "office to be *nutricia*, and also to the heavy bur- "dening of your own conscience before God, if they "should be put in strict execution. It was not "your majesty's pleasure then (the time not serving "thereto) to hear me at any length concerning the "two matters then propounded. I thought it there- "fore my duty, by writing, to declare some part of "my mind unto your highness, beseeching the same "with patience to read over that I now send writ- "ten with mine own rude scribbling hand, which "seemeth to be of more length than it is indeed; "for I say with Ambrose [k], '*Scribo manu mea, quod "sola legas.*' Madam, first of all I must and will "during my life confess that there is no earthly "creature to whom I am so much bounden as to "your majesty, who (notwithstanding mine insuffi- "ciency, which commendeth your grace the more) "hath bestowed upon me so many and so great "benefits, as I could never hope for, much less "deserve. I do therefore, according to my most "bounden duty, with all thanksgiving, bear towards "your majesty a most humble, faithful, and thankful "heart, and that knoweth He which knoweth all "things. Neither do I ever intend to offend your "majesty in any thing, unless in the cause of God "or of His church, by necessity of office and burden "of conscience, I shall thereunto be enforced. And "in these causes, which I trust in God shall never "be urged upon me, if I should use dissembling or

[k] Ad Valentinianum Imper.

" flattering silence, I should very evil requite your A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz.
" majesty's so many and so great benefits. In so
" doing, both you might fall into peril towards God,
" and I myself into endless damnation. The prophet
" Ezekiel termeth us ministers of the church *specu-*
" *latores*, and not *adulatores*. If we see the sword
" coming by reason of any offence towards God, we
" must of necessity give warning, or else the blood
" of those that perish will be required at our hands.
" I beseech your majesty thus to think of me, that I
" do not conceive any evil opinion of you, although
" I cannot assent to these two articles then pro-
" pounded. I do with the rest of all your good
" subjects acknowledge that we have received, by
" your government, many and most excellent bene-
" fits, as, amongst others, freedom of conscience,
" suppressing of idolatry, sincere preaching of the
" gospel, with public peace and tranquillity. I am
" also persuaded that even in these matters which
" you seem now to urge, your zeal and meaning is
" for the best: the like hath happened to many of
" the best princes that ever were, yet have they not
" refused afterwards to be better informed and in-
" structed out of God's word. King David, so much
" commended in the scriptures, had no evil meaning
" when he commanded the people to be numbered:
" he thought it good policy in so doing, to under-
" stand what forces he had in store to employ
" against God's enemies, if occasion so required; yet
" afterwards, saith the scripture, his own heart
" stroke him, and God by the prophet Gad repre-
" hendeth him for his offence, and gave him for the
" same choice of three hard penances, that is to say,
" famine, war, and pestilence. Good king Ezechias,

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz. " of courtesy and good affection, shewed to the am-
" bassadors of the king of Babylon the treasures of
" the house of God, and of his own house, and yet
" the prophet Isaiah told him that God was there-
" with displeased. The godly king Jehosophat, for
" making league with his neighbour king Achab,
" and of like good meaning no doubt, was likewise
" reprehended by Jehu the prophet in this form of
" words, viz. *Impio præbes auxilium, et hiis qui*
" *oderunt Dominum, amicitia jungeris*, &c. Am-
" brose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth
" these words: *Novi pietatem tuam erga Deum, leni-*
" *tatem in homines; obligatus sum beneficiis tuis*, &c.[1];
" and yet for all that the said Ambrose doth not
" forbear, in the same epistle, earnestly to persuade
" the said emperor to revoke an ungodly ediet,
" wherein he had commanded a godly bishop to re-
" edify a Jewish synagogue pulled down by the
" Christian people. And so, to come to the present
" case, I may very well use to your highness the
" words of Ambrose above written, *Novi pietatem*
" *tuam*, &c. But surely I cannot marvel enough
" how this strange opinion should once enter into
" your mind, that it should be good for the church
" to have few preachers. Alas! madam, is the
" scripture more plain in any one thing than that
" the gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached,
" and that plenty of labourers should be sent into
" the Lord's harvest, which, being great and large,
" standeth in need not of a few, but of many work-
" men? There was appointed to the building of
" Solomon's material temple artificers and labourers,

[1] [Epist. xl. §. 5.]

" besides three thousand overseers; and shall we A. D. 1580.
" think that a few preachers may suffice to build 23 Eliz.
" and edify the spiritual temple of Christ, which is
" His church? Christ, when He sendeth forth His
" disciples and apostles, saith unto them, *Ite, præ-*
" *dicate evangelium omni creaturæ;* but all God's
" creatures cannot be instructed in the gospel, unless
" all possible means be used to have multitudes of
" preachers and teachers to preach unto them.
" *Sermo Christi inhabitet in vobis opulenter*, saith
" St. Paul to the Colossians; and to Timothy, *Præ-*
" *dica sermonem, insta tempestive, intempestive, argue,*
" *increpa, exhortare*, &c.; which thing cannot be
" done without often and much preaching. To this
" agreeth the practice of Christ's apostles, *qui con-*
" *stituebant per singulas ecclesias presbyteros.* St.
" Paul likewise to Titus writeth, *Hujus rei gratia,*
" *reliqui te in Creta, ut quæ desunt, pergas corrigere,*
" *et constituas oppidatim presbyteros;* and afterwards
" describeth how the said presbyteri were to be
" qualified, not such as we are sometimes compelled
" to admit by mere necessity, unless we should leave
" a great number of churches utterly desolate; but
" such indeed as were able to exhort *per sanam*
" *doctrinam, et contradicentes convincere.* And in
" this place I beseech your majesty to note one
" thing which is necessary to be noted, which is
" this: if the Holy Ghost prescribe expressly that
" preachers should be placed *oppidatim*, how can it
" well be thought that three or four preachers may
" suffice for a shire. Public and continual preaching
" of God's word is the ordinary means and instru-
" ment of the salvation of mankind. St. Paul call-
" eth it manifestly the ministry of reconciliation of

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

" man unto God. By preaching of God's word the " glory of God is enlarged, faith is nourished, and " charity increased; by it the ignorant is instructed, " the negligent exhorted and incited, the stubborn " rebuked, the weak conscience comforted, and to " all those that sin of malicious wickedness the " wrath of God is threatened; by preaching, also, " due obedience to Christian princes and magistrates " [is] planted in the hearts of subjects; for obe- " dience proceedeth of conscience, conscience is " grounded upon the word of God, the word of God " worketh his effect by preaching, so as generally " where preaching wanteth, obedience faileth. No " prince ever had more lively experience hereof than " your majesty hath had in your time, and may " have daily.

" If your majesty come to your city of London " never so oft, what gratulation, what joy, what " concourse of people is there to be seen! yea, what " acclamations and prayers to God for your long " life, and other manifest significations of inward " and unfeigned love, joined with most humble and " hearty obedience, are there to be heard! Whereof " cometh this, madam, but of the continual preaching " of God's word in that city, whereby that people " hath been plentifully instructed in their duty to- " wards God and your majesty? On the contrary, " what bred the rebellion in the north? was it not " papistry, and ignorance of God's word, through " want of often preaching? And in the time of " that rebellion, were not all men of all states that " made profession of the gospel most ready to offer " their lives for your defence? insomuch that one " poor parish in Yorkshire, which by continual

" preaching had been better instructed than the A.D. 1580.
" rest, (Halifax, I mean,) was ready to bring three 23 Eliz.
" or four thousand able men into the field to serve
" you against the said rebels. How can your ma-
" jesty have a more lively trial and experience of
" the contrary effects of much preaching, and of
" little or no preaching? the one working most
" faithful obedience, and the other most unnatural
" disobedience and rebellion. But it is thought of
" some that many are admitted to preach, and few
" be able to do it well. That unable preachers be
" removed, is very requisite, if ability and sufficiency
" be rightly weighed and judged; and therein I
" trust as much is and shall be done as can be for
" both: I, for mine own part, (let it be spoken
" without any ostentation,) am very careful in allow-
" ing such preachers only as be able and sufficient
" to be preachers, both for knowledge in the scrip-
" tures, and also for testimony of their good life and
" conversation; and besides that I have given very
" great charge to the rest of my brethren, the bishops
" of this province, to do the like. We admit no
" man to the office that either professeth papistry
" or puritanism; generally the graduates of the
" universities are only to be admitted preachers,
" unless it be some few that have excellent good
" gifts and knowledge in the scriptures, joined with
" good utterance and godly persuasion. I myself
" procured above forty learned preachers and gra-
" duates within less than six years to be placed
" within the diocese of York, besides those I found
" there; and there I have left them, the fruits of
" whose travel in preaching your majesty is like
" to reap daily by most assured dutiful obedience

A.D 1580. 23 Eliz. "of your subjects in those parts. But indeed "this age judgeth hardly, and nothing indifferently, "of the ability of preachers of our time, judging few "or none in their opinion to be able, which hard "judgment groweth upon divers evil dispositions "of men. St. Paul doth command the preaching "of Christ crucified *absque eminentia sermonis;* but "in our time many have so delicate ears, that no "preaching can satisfy them, unless it be sauced "with much fineness and exornation of speech, which "the same apostle utterly condemneth, and giveth "this reason, *ne evacuetur crux Christi.* Some there "be, also, that are mislikers of godly reformation in "religion now established, wishing indeed that there "were no preachers at all; and so, by depraving the "ministers, impugn religion *non aperto Marte, sed* "*cuniculis:* much like to the papish bishops in your "father's time, who would have had the English "translation of the Bible called in, as evil trans-"lated, and the new translation thereof to have "been committed to themselves, which they never "intended to perform. A number there is, and that "is exceeding great, whereof some are altogether "worldly minded, and only bent covetously to gather "worldly goods and possessions, serving Mammon "and not God; and another great some have given "out themselves to all carnal, vain, dissolute, and "lascivious life. *Voluptatis amatores, magis quam Dei,* "*et qui semetipsos dediderunt ad patrandam omnem* "*immunditiam cum aviditate* [1]. And because the "preaching of God's word (which to all Christian "people's conscience is sweet and delectable) is to

[1] Eph. iv. 19.

" them (having *cauterizatas conscientias*) bitter and A.D. 1580.
" grievous; for, as St. Ambrose saith [m], *quomodo* 23 Eliz.
" *possunt verba Dei dulcia esse in faucibus tuis, in*
" *quibus est amaritudo nequitiæ?* Therefore they
" wish also that there were no preachers at all.
" But because they dare not directly condemn the
" office of preaching, so expressly commanded by
" God's word, (for that same were open blasphemy,)
" they turn themselves altogether, and with the
" same meaning as the others do, to take exceptions
" against the persons of those that be admitted to
" preach. But God forbid, madam, that you should
" open your ears to any of these wicked persuasions,
" or any way go about to diminish the preaching of
" Christ's gospel; for that would ruinate altogether
" at the length. *Cum defecerit prophetia, dissipabitur*
" *populus* [n], saith Solomon. Now where it is thought
" that the reading of the godly Homilies set forth by
" public authority may suffice, I continue of the
" same mind I was when I attended last upon your
" majesty. The reading of Homilies hath his com-
" modity, but is nothing comparable to the office
" of preaching. The godly preacher is termed in
" the gospel *Fidelis servus et prudens qui novit famu-*
" *litio Domini cibum demensum dare in tempore,* who
" can apply his speech according to the diversity of
" times, places, and hearers, which cannot be done
" in homilies. Exhortations, reprehensions, and per-
" suasions are uttered with more affection to the
" moving of the hearers in sermons than in homilies.
" Besides, homilies were devised by the godly bishops
" in your brother's time, only to supply necessity for

[m] Super Psal. cxix. [Serm. xiii. §. 27.] [n] Prov xxix.

A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

" want of preachers, and are by the statute not to
" be preferred, but to give place to sermons whenso-
" ever they may be had, and were never thought in
" themselves alone to contain sufficient instruction
" for the Church of England; for it was then found,
" as it is found now, that this Church of England
" hath been by appropriations (and that not without
" sacrilege) spoiled of the livings which at the first
" were appointed to the office of preaching and
" teaching, which appropriations were first annexed
" to abbeys, and after came to the crown, and now
" are dispersed to private men's possessions, without
" hope to reduce the same to the original institution.
" So as at this day, in mine opinion, where one
" church is able to yield sufficient living to a learned
" preacher, there are at the least vi. churches unable
" to do the same. [And in many parishes of your
" realm, where there be seven or eight hundred
" souls, (the more is the pity,) there are not eight
" pounds a year reserved for a minister. In such
" parishes it is not possible to place able preachers,
" for want of convenient stipend. If every flock
" might have a preaching pastor, which is rather to
" be wished than hoped for, then were reading of
" Homilies altogether unnecessary. But to supply
" that want of preaching of God's word, which is
" the food of the soul, growing upon the necessities
" aforementioned both in your brother's time and
" in your time, certain godly Homilies have been
" devised, that the people should not be altogether
" destitute of instruction; for it is an old and true
" proverb, 'Better half a loaf than no bread [o].']

[o] [This passage was very incorrectly printed in the original, Fuller adding a note in the margin to this effect: " The

A. D 1580. 23 Eliz.

" Now for the second point, which is concerning " the learned exercise and conference amongst the " ministers of the church, I have consulted with " divers of my brethren the bishops, by letters, " who think the same as I do, a thing profitable " to the church, and therefore expedient to be " continued; and I trust your majesty will think " the like, when your highness shall have been in- " formed of the manner and order thereof, what " authority it hath of the scriptures, what commo- " dity it bringeth with it, and what discommodity " will follow if it be clean taken away.

" The authors of this exercise are the bishops of " the diocese where this same is used, who, both by " the law of God and by the canons and constitutions " of the church now in force, have authority to ap- " point exercises to their inferior ministers for increase " of learning and knowledge in the scriptures, as to " them seemeth most expedient, for that pertaineth " *ad disciplinam clericalem.* The times appointed " for the assembly is once a month, or once in twelve " or fifteen days, at the discretion of the ordinary. " The time of the exercise is two hours; the place, " the church of the town appointed for the assembly. " The matter entreated of is as followeth: some " text of scripture, before appointed to be spoken " of, is interpreted in this order: first, the occasion

" word not being easily legible, " I have left a blank, (as some- " times before and after,) pre- " ferring to refer the sense to " the judicious reader's own " conjecture, than to impose " my guess upon him." The whole passage is omitted in the Yelverton copy, but found in Strype's; no doubt it existed in the rough and original draft of the letter, but was probably struck out from that eventually sent to her majesty.]

A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz. " of the place is shewed; secondly, the end; thirdly, " the proper sense of the place; fourthly, the pro- " priety of the words, and those that be learned in " the tongues shewing the interpretation; fifthly, " where the like phrases are used in the scriptures; " sixthly, places in the scriptures seeming to repugn " are reconciled; seventhly, the arguments of the " text are opened; eighthly, it is also declared what " virtues and what vices are there touched, and to " which of the commandments they appertain; " ninthly, how the text hath been wrested by the " adversaries, if occasion so require; tenthly, and " last of all, what doctrine of faith or manners the " text doth contain. The conclusion is with prayer " for your majesty and all estates, as is appointed " by the Book of Common Prayer, and a psalm. " These orders following are also observed in the " said exercise: First, two or three of the gravest " and best learned pastors are appointed of the " bishop to moderate in every assembly; no man " may speak except he be first allowed by the bishop, " with this proviso, that no layman be suffered to " speak at any time; no controversy of this present " time and state shall be moved or dealt withal. If " any attempt the contrary, he is put to silence by " the moderators; none is suffered to glance openly " or covertly at pastors, public or private; neither " yet any one to confute another. If any man utter " a wrong sense of the scripture, he is privately " admonished thereof, and better instructed by the " moderators and other his fellow ministers. If any " man use immodest speeches, or unreverend gesture " or behaviour, or otherwise be suspected in life, he

" is likewise admonished as before. If any man A.D. 1580.
" wilfully do break these orders, he is presented to 23 Eliz.
" the bishop, to be by him corrected.

" The ground of this or like exercise is of great " and ancient authority; for Samuel did practise such " exercises in his time, both at Naioth, in Ramath, " and at Bethel; so did Elizeus the prophet at Jeri- " cho: which studious persons in those days were " called *filii prophetarum*, that is to say, the disciples " of the prophets, that, being exercised in the study " and knowledge of the scriptures, they might be " able men to serve in God's church, as that time " required. St. Paul doth make express mention [o], " that the like in effect was used in the primitive " church, and giveth rules for the order of the " same; as, namely, that two or three should speak, " and the rest should keep silence. That exercise " of the church in those days St. Paul calleth *pro-* " *phetiam*, and the speakers *prophetas*, terms very " odious in our days to some, because they are not " rightly understood; for, indeed, *prophetia* in that " and like places of St. Paul doth not, as it doth " sometimes, signify prediction of things to come, " which gift is not now ordinary in the church of " God, but signifieth there, by the consent of the " best ancient writers, the interpretation and expo- " sition of the scriptures; and therefore doth St. " Paul attribute unto these that be called prophets, " *doctrinam ad ædificationem, exhortationem, et con-* " *solationem.* This gift of expounding and inter- " preting the scriptures was in St. Paul's time " given to many by special miracle without study;

[o] 1 Cor. xiv.

A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz. "so was also, by like miracle, the gift to speak "with strange tongues, which they had never "learned. But now, miracles ceasing, men must "attain to the knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, "and Latin tongues, &c. by travel and study, God "giving the increase. So must men also attain, "by like means, to the gift of expounding and in- "terpreting the scriptures; and, among other helps, "nothing is so necessary as these above-named ex- "ercises, and conference amongst the ministers of "the church, which in effect are all one with the "exercises of students in divinity in the universities, "saving that the first is done in a tongue under- "stood, to the more edifying of the unlearned "hearers. Howsoever report hath been made to "your majesty concerning these exercises, yet I and "others of your bishops, whose names are noted in "the margent hereof [p], as they have testified unto "me by their letters, have found by experience that "these profits and commodities following have en- "sued by it: 1. The ministers of the church are "more skilful and ready in the scriptures, and apter "to teach their flocks. 2dly. It withdraweth them "from idleness, wandering, gaming, &c. 3dly. Some "afore suspected in doctrine are brought hereby to "the open confession of the truth. 4thly. Ignorant "ministers are driven to study, if not for conscience, "yet for shame and fear of discipline. 5thly. The "opinion of laymen touching the idleness of the "clergy is hereby removed. 6thly. Nothing by "experience beateth down popery more than that

[p] Cantuar., London., Winton, Bathon., Lichfeld., Glocest., Lincoln., Criesten., Exon, Meneven. als. Davidis.

" ministers, as some of my brethren do certify, grow A. D. 1580.
" of such knowledge by means of these exercises, 23 Eliz.
" that where afore were not three able preachers,
" now are thirty meet to preach at Paul's Cross, and
" forty or fifty besides able to instruct their own
" cures, so as it is found by experience the best
" means to increase knowledge in the simple, and to
" continue it in the learned. Only backward men
" in religion and contemners of learning in the coun-
" tries abroad do fret against it, which in truth do
" the more commend it. The dissolution of it would
" breed triumph to the adversaries, and great sor-
" row and grief unto the favourers of religion, con-
" trary to the counsel of Ezekiel [q], who saith, *Cor*
" *justi non est contristandum.* And although some
" few have abused this good and necessary exercise,
" there is no reason that the malice of a few should
" prejudice all. Abuses may be reformed, and that
" which is good may remain; neither is there any
" just cause of offence to be taken, if divers men
" make divers senses of one sentence of scripture,
" so that all the senses be good, and agreeable to
" the analogy of faith; for otherwise we must needs
" condemn all the ancient fathers and doctors of the
" church, who most commonly expound one and the
" same text of the scripture diversely, and yet all
" to the good of the church. Therefore doth St.
" Basil compare the scripture to a well, out of the
" which the more a man draweth, the better and
" sweeter is the water. I trust when your majesty
" hath considered and well weighed the premises,

[q] xiii 18.

A D. 1580. 23 Eliz. "you will rest satisfied, and judge that no such "inconveniences can grow of these exercises as you "have been informed, but rather the clean contrary; "and for mine own part, because I am well assured "both by reasons and arguments taken out of the "holy scriptures, and by experience, the most certain "seal and sure knowledge, of the said exercises for "the interpretation and exposition of the scriptures, "and for exhortation and comfort drawn out of the "same, are both profitable to increase knowledge "amongst the ministers, and tendeth to the edifying "of the hearers; I am forced, with all humility, "and yet plainly, to profess that I cannot with safe "conscience, and without the offence of the majesty "of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the "said exercises, much less can I send out any in-"junction to the utter subversion of the same. I "say with St. Paul, *I have no power to destroy, but "only to edify;* and with the same apostle, *I can "do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.* If "it be your majesty's pleasure for this or any other "cause to remove me out of this place, I will with "all humility yield thereto, and render again to "your majesty that I received of the same. I con-"sider with myself, *quod horrendum est incidere in "manus Dei viventis;* I consider also, *quod qui facit "contra conscientiam* (*divinis juribus nixam*) *ædificat "ad gehennam.* And what should I win if I gained, "I will not say a bishopric, but the whole world, and "lose my own soul? Bear with me, I beseech you, "madam, if I choose rather to offend your earthly "majesty than to offend the heavenly majesty of "God. And now, being sorry that I have been so

" long and tedious unto your majesty, I will draw A. D. 1580.
" to an end, most humbly praying the same that you 23 Eliz.
" would consider these short petitions following:
" the first is, that you would refer all these eccle-
" siastical matters, which touch religion or the doc-
" trine or discipline of the church, unto the bishops
" and divines of your realm, according to the ex-
" ample of all godly Christian emperors and princes
" of all ages; for indeed they are things to be judged,
" as an ancient father writeth, *in ecclesia seu synodo,*
" *non in palatio.* When your majesty hath questions
" of the laws of your realm, you do not decide the
" same in your court, but send them to your judges
" to be determined. Likewise, for the duties in mat-
" ters in doctrine or discipline of the church, the ordi-
" nary manner is to refer the decision of the same to
" the bishops and other head ministers of the church.
" Ambrose to Theodosius useth these words: *Si de*
" *causis pecuniariis comites tuos consulis, quanto*
" *magis, in causa religionis sacerdotes æquum est*
" *consulas* [q]. And likewise the same father to the
" good emperor Valentinianus [r], *Si conferendum de*
" *fide, sacerdotum debet esse ista collatio, sicut fac-*
" *tum est sub Constantino augustæ memoriæ prin-*
" *cipe, qui nullas leges ante præmisit, sed liberum*
" *dedit judicium sacerdotibus.* And in the same
" place the same father saith that Constantius the
" emperor, son to the same Constantine the Great,
" began well, by reason he followed his father's steps
" at the first, but ended ill, because he took upon
" him *de fide intra Palatium judicare,* (for so be the
" words of Ambrose,) and therefore fell into Arian-

[q] [Epist xl. §. 27.] [r] Epist. 32. [=21, § 15 and 4.]

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz. "ism, a terrible example. The same Ambrose, "commended so much in all histories for a godly "bishop, goeth yet further, and writeth to the said "emperor in this form: *Si docendus est episcopus a "laico, quid sequetur laicus ergo disputet, et episco- "pus audiat; episcopus discat sed discit a laico. At "certe, si vel scripturarum divinarum seriem, vel "vetera tempora retractemus, quis est qui abnuat in "causa fidei, in causa inquam fidei, episcopos solere "de imperatoribus Christianis, non imperatores de "episcopis judicare.* Would to God your majesty "would follow this ordinary course! You should "procure to yourself much quietness of mind, better "please God, avoid many offences, and the church "should be more quietly and peaceably governed, "much to your commodity and comfort of your "realm. The second petition I have to make to "your majesty is this, that when you deal in matters "of faith and religion, or in matters that touch the "church of Christ, which is his spouse bought with "so dear a price, you would not use to pronounce "so resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex authoritate,* "as you may do in civil and extern matters, but "always remember that in God's causes the will of "God, and not the will of any earthly creature, is "to take place. It is the Antichristian voice of the "pope: *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas.* "In God's matters all princes ought to bow their "sceptres to the Son of God, and to ask counsel at "his mouth what they ought to do. David ex- "horteth all kings and rulers to serve God with "fear and trembling. Remember, madam, that you "are a mortal creature. Look not only (as was "said to Theodosius) upon the purple and princely

" array wherewith you are apparelled, but consider A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz.
" withal what is that that is covered therewith [z].
" Is it not flesh and blood? is it not dust and ashes?
" is it not a corruptible body, which must return to
" her earth again? God knoweth how soon. Must
" it not also one day appear, *ante tremendum tribunal*
" *crucifixi, ut recipias ibi prout gesseris in corpore,*
" *sive bonum sive malum?* And although you are a
" mighty prince, yet remember that he which dwell-
" eth in heaven is mightier; he is, as the psalmist
" saith, *Terribilis est is qui aufert spiritum prin-*
" *cipum, terribilis super omnes reges terræ.* Where-
" fore I do beseech you, madam, *in visceribus Christi,*
" when you deal in these religious causes, set the
" majesty of God before your eyes, laying all earthly
" majesty aside; determine with yourself to obey
" his voice, and with all humility say unto him, *Non*
" *mea sed tua voluntas fiat.* God hath blessed you
" with great felicity in your reign now many years;
" beware you do not impute the same to your own
" well deserts or policy, but give God the glory; and
" as to instruments and means, impute your said
" felicity, first, to the goodness of the cause which
" you have set forth,—I mean Christ's true religion;
" and secondly, to the sighs and groanings of the
" godly in their fervent prayers unto God for you,
" which have hitherto as it were tied and bounden
" the hands of God, that he could not pour out his
" plagues upon you and your people, as your people
" most justly deserved. Take heed that you never
" think of declining from God, lest that be verified
" of you which is written of Joash, as who continued

[z] [Theodoret Eccl. Hist. V 8.]

A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz. "a prince of God and godly government for many "years together, afterward, *cum roboratus esset*, "saith the text, *elevatum est cor ejus in interitum* "*suum et neglexit Dominum.* You have done many "things well, but except you persevere unto the "end, you cannot be blessed; for if you turn from "God, then God will turn his merciful kindness "from you; and what remaineth then to be looked "for, but only a terrible expectation of God's judg- "ment, and heaping up wrath against the day of "wrath? But I trust in God your majesty will "always humble yourself under his mighty hand, "and go forward in the zealous setting forth of "God's true religion, always yielding due obedience "and reverence to the word of God, the only rule "of faith and religion. And if you do so, although "God hath just causes, many ways, to be angry with "you and us for our unthankfulness, yet I doubt "nothing but for his own name's sake, and for his "own glory's sake, he will still hold his merciful "hand over us, shield and protect us under the sha- "dow of his wings, as he hath done hitherto. I "beseech God our heavenly Father plentifully to "pour his principal spirit upon you, and always to "direct your heart in his holy fear.

"Amen."

What could be written with more spirit and less animosity? more humility and less dejection? I see a lamb in his own can be a lion in God and his church's cause. Say not that *orbitas* and *senectus* (the two things which made the man speak so boldly to the tyrant [a]) only encouraged Grindal in this his

[a] Plutarch. Morals.

writing, whose necessary boldness did arise, partly from confidence in the goodness of the cause, for which, partly from the graciousness of the queen to whom he made his address; but, alas! all in vain: Leicester had so filled her majesty's ears with complaints against him, there was no room to receive his petition. A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

4. Indeed Leicester cast a covetous eye on Lambeth House, alleging as good arguments for his obtaining thereof as ever were urged by Ahab for Naboth's vineyard. Now Grindal, though generally condemned for remissness in this kind, (parting with more from his see than ever his successors thanked him for [b],) stoutly opposed the alienating of this his principal palace, and made the Leicestrian party to malice him; but more hereof hereafter [c]. Meantime may the reader take notice that a great scholar and statesman, and no enemy to the hierarchy, in his worthy "Considerations about Church-Govern-"ment [d]," (tendered to king James,) conceiveth that such prophesyings which Grindal did favour might be so discreetly cautioned and moderated, as to make them, without fear of faction, profitable for advancing Lambeth House Grindal's guilt.

[b] [Upon this passage Strype remarks: "This is a hard "charge, but spoken in gene-"ral terms. If he means ex-"changes with the queen, he "and all the rest of the bishops "were forced to make these "exchanges by an act that "passed for that purpose in "the beginning of her reign; "and what endeavours he and "two or three more of the first "elects made, by a secret letter "to her majesty, and by a "voluntary proffer of a large "yearly equivalent, to forbear "the making use of that power "the parliament had given her, "hath been before shewn." Life of Grindal, p. 306. The secret letter mentioned in the above quotation is printed at length in Strype's Life of Parker, App. p. 16]

[c] In Grindal's character at his death.

[d] Sir Francis Bacon, [Works, vol. II. p. 524, ed. Lond. 1826]

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz. of learning and religion. But so jealous were some bishops of that age of these prophesyings, as having too much presbyterian analogy and classical constitution therein, they decried the motion of them as schismatical.

The death of Cope and Bullock.

5. I find no mortality of protestant worthies this year, but amongst the catholics much moan for the death of Alan Cope, Harpsfield's great correspondent, and agent for those of his religion at Rome, where he died, and was buried in the English college [e]; and George Bullock, bred in St. John's in Cambridge, and after lived in Antwerp, in the monastery of St. Michael's [f].

Popish locusts swarm into England.

6. Now began priests and Jesuits to flock faster into England than ever before, having exchange of clothes, and names, and professions: he who on Sunday was a priest or Jesuit, was on Monday a merchant, on Tuesday a soldier, on Wednesday a courtier, &c.; and with the shears of equivocation, constantly carried about him, he could cut himself into any shape he pleased. But under all their new shapes they retained their old nature, being akin in their turbulent spirits to the wind pent in the subterranean concavities, which will never be quiet until it hath vented itself with a state-quake of those countries wherein they abide. These distilled traitorous principles into all people wheresoever they came, and endeavoured to render them disaffected to her majesty; maintaining that she neither had nor ought to have any dominion over her subjects whilst she persisted in an heretical distance from the church of Rome.

[e] [See Wood's Athen I. 198.] [f] [Tanner's Bibl. p. 139.]

7. Hereupon the parliament, which now met at Westminster, was enforced, for the security of the state, to enact severe laws against them[f]: first, that it should be treason to draw any from that faith established in England to the Romish religion; secondly, that it should be treason to be reconciled to the Romish religion; thirdly, that to maintain or conceal any such person longer than twenty days, should be misprision of treason; fourthly, that saying mass should be two hundred marks penalty and one year's imprisonment; fifthly, hearing mass should be one hundred marks penalty and one year's imprisonment; sixthly, absence from the church one month finable at twenty pounds; seventhly, all they shall be imprisoned who will not or cannot pay the forfeiture; eighthly, it was provided that such should pay ten pounds a month who kept a schoolmaster in their house, who repaireth not to church. Where, by the way, we may mention that some since conceive themselves to have discovered a defect in this law, because no order is taken therein against popish schoolmistresses; and although schoolmaster may seem of the common gender, and inclusive of both sexes, yet by the letter of the law all she-teachers, which did mischief to little children, evaded the punishment. Thus when authority hath carefully shut all doors and windows imaginable, some little offenders will creep through the crannies thereof[g].

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz. Necessary severity of the parliament against them.

[f] [See the Statutes of the Realm, 23 Eliz. c. 1.]

[g] [The reader will find a list of the sums paid in some few instances in Strype's Annals, IV. p. 197. This law fell with a pernicious and ruinous effect upon the Roman catholics. The results which it produced are well stated in bishop Goodman's Memoirs, p 93. "The "penal laws were such, and so "executed, that they could not "subsist: what was usually sold

A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

Many against money-mulcts for conscience.

8. When sovereigns have made laws, subjects sometimes take the boldness to sit in judgment upon them; to commend them for just, or condemn them for cruel, as here it came to pass. Some (and those far enough from all popery) misliked the imposing of money-mulcts on men's consciences. If the mass were lawful, let it freely be permitted; if unlawful, let it wholly be prohibited. It is a sad case to make men pay dear for their damnation, and so sell them a license to do that which the receivers of their money conceive to be unlawful. It is part of the character of the whore of Babylon, (which protestants generally apply to Rome,) that she traded or made a mart of the souls of men [h], as this was little better.

Others conceive the

9. Others, not disliking a pecuniary penalty, yet

" in shops, and openly bought, " this the pursuevant would " take away from them, as being " popish and superstitious. One " knight did affirm that in one " term he gave twenty nobles " in reward to the door-keeper " of the attorney-general; an- " other did affirm that his third " part which remained unto " him of his estate did hardly " serve for his expense in law " to defend him from other " oppressions; besides their " children to be taken from " home, to be brought up in " another religion. So they " did every way conclude that " their estate was desperate; " they could die but once, and " their religion was more pre- " cious unto them than their " lives. They did further con- " sider their misery, how they " were debarred in any course " of life to help themselves: " they could not practise law, " they could not be citizens, " they could have no office; " they could not breed up their " sons, none did desire to " match with them; they had " neither fit marriages for their " daughters, nor nunneries to " put them into; for those few " which are beyond seas are " not considerable in respect " of the number of recusants, " and none can be admitted " into those without great sums " of money, which they, being " exhausted, could not supply. " The spiritual court did not " cease to molest them, to ex- " communicate them, then to " imprison them; and thereby " they were utterly disenabled " to sue for their own."]

[h] Rev. xviii 13.

conceived the proportion thereof unreasonable: twenty pounds a month, a vast sum, (especially as exacted by lunary months, consisting of twenty-eight days, and so making thirteen months in the year,) enough to shatter the containment of a rich man's estate. They commended the moderation of the former statute, which required twelve pence a Sunday of all such as could not give a reasonable excuse of their absence from church. That did smart, yet did not fetch blood; at the worst, did not break bones. Whereas now twenty pounds a month, paid severally by every recusant for himself, and as much for his wife, (which, though one flesh in divinity, yet are two persons in law,) held so heavy as to cripple their estates. And as the rich hereby were almost undone, so the poor papists (who also had souls to save) passed wholly unpunished, paying nothing, because unable to pay all the penalty. And although imprisonment was imposed by law on persons not solvable, yet officers were unwilling to cast them into jail, where they might lie and fill the jails, and rot without hopes of enlargement.

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz. proportion of the fine unconscionable.

10. Larger were the debates, both then and since, in discourse and writing, about the capital punishment in taking away the lives of Jesuits; some being zealous for the vigorous execution of those laws, and others as earnest for the confining only of Jesuits close prisoners during their life, conceiving it conducing most to the tranquillity of the kingdom. But see their reasons:

Arguments *pro* and *con* whether Jesuits are to be put to death.

It is safest for England with vigour and rigour to inspirit the laws, and put Jesuits to death.	It is safest for England to keep Jesuits in perpetual durance, without taking away their lives.

A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

1. Their breath is contagious to English air, whose appearance in any protestant state is as sure a presage as the playing of porpoises above water that foul weather is to follow therein.

2. It would render the reputation of our state lighter in the balance of the best friends thereof, if it should enact severe laws against offenders, and then hang those laws up, like forfeits in a barber's shop, only to be looked on and laughed at, as never put in execution. What was this, but to make the sword of justice (which ought always to be kept keen and sharp) but to be like fencers' swords, when they play in jest-earnest, having the edge dunted and the point buttoned up? Might not felons and murderers, even with some justice, promise much mercy unto themselves, (whose offences are terminated in spoiling or killing of particular persons,) if priests and Jesuits, public incendiaries of the state, have such mercy indulged unto them?

3. Favour in this kind indulged to Jesuits would be generally misinterpreted to

1. All sinners are not devils, and all devils are not Beelzebubs. Some priests and Jesuits are of a milder temper and better metalled, who by moderation may be melted into amendment.

2. The point and edge of the sword of justice (understand the law itself) may remain as sharp as it was before; only the arm may and ought to strike with less strength, and use more moderation in inflicting such severe punishments. The most wholesome laws would be poison, (justice, hot in the fourth degree, is cruelty,) if enforced at all times and on all persons to the utmost extremity. Let the law stand unrepealed, only some mitigation be used in the execution thereof.

3. Princes ought not to be affrighted from doing what is good and honourable

proceed, not from her majesty's pity, but either from her fearfulness, (as not daring longer to enrage the popish party,) or from her guiltiness, who out of remorse of conscience could not find in her heart to execute such cruel laws as she had enacted.

in itself, with the scarecrows of people's misinterpretations thereof. If such misconstructions of her majesty's mercy be taken up wilfully, let such persons bear the blame and shame of their voluntary and affected errors. If they be only ignorant mistakes of ingenuous persons, time will rectify their judgments, and beget in them a better opinion of her majesty's proceedings. However, better it is that the queen's lenity should hazard such misconstructions thereof, than that otherwise she should be certainly censured for cruelty, and the state taxed as desirous to grow fat by sucking the blood of catholics. A. D 1580. 23 Eliz.

4. This, in all probability, will be the most effectual course to extirpate Jesuitism out of the land; for their superiors beyond the seas, seeing all such as they send hither impartially cut off by the hand of justice, will either out of pity forbear for the future to thrust moe men into the jaws of death, or else such subject-Jesuits, out of policy, will refuse to be sent by them on unavoidable destruction.

4. It will rather be the way to continue and increase the same. The blood of martyrs, whether real or reputed, is the seed of that church, true or false, in maintenance whereof they lose their lives. We know clamorousness and multitude do much in crying up matters; and herein the papists, at home and beyond the seas, will play their parts, to roar out such men for martyrs. A succession of Jesuits to be sent over will never fail, see-

A. D. 1580.
23 Eliz.

5. The dead do not bite, and, being despatched out of the way, are forgotten; whereas, if Jesuits be only condemned to perpetual durance, their party abroad will be restless in plotting and practising their brethren's enlargement. It is safer, therefore, to take away *subjectum conatus*, (the subject and object of their endeavours,) by ridding them quite out of the way, that their complices may despair to relieve them; for, though prisoners may be rescued with much might, dead men cannot be revived without miracle.

6. No precedent could ever yet be produced of any priest or Jesuit who was converted with imprisonment; it is therefore but just that they who will not be mended with the jail should be ended with the gallows.

ing that service amongst erroneous judgments will never want volunteers, where merit of heaven is the believed wages thereof.

5. The greater rage moveth to the greater revenge, and the greater (apprehended) injury causeth the greater rage. It will rather sharpen the edge of popish zeal, more earnestly to revenge their deaths, than to rescue them from durance.

6. Though the instance cannot be given of any priest or Jesuit who hath totally renounced his religion, yet some have been made semi-converts, so far as to disclaim the treacherous part and principles thereof. This is most visible in the secular priests, the queen's lenity so working on many of them that both in writing and preaching they have detested

and confuted all such traitorous practices, as against the laws of God. A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

7. The rather, because no Jesuit is put to death for his religion, but rebellion. They are never examined on any article of their faith, nor are their consciences burdened with any interrogatories touching their belief; but only practices against the state are charged upon them.

7. The death of Jesuits, in such cases, may fitly be styled the child of their rebellion, but the grandchild of their religion, which is removed but a degree farther; for their obedience to their superiors putteth them on the propagation of their religion, and by all means to endeavour the same, which causeth them out of an erroneous conscience to do that which rendereth them offenders to our state. Now, in all ages, such as have suffered for their consciences, not only immediately and in a direct line, but also at the second hand and by implication, receive pity from all such as behold their sufferings, (whether as a debt due, or as an alms given unto them, let others dispute;) and therefore such putting of Jesuits unto death will but procure unto them a general commiseration.

These and many other reasons (too many and tedious to be here inserted) were brought, and bandied on both sides, every one censuring as they stood affected.

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

The execution of this law moderated.

11. In the execution of these laws against Jesuits, queen Elizabeth embraced a middle and moderate way. Indeed, when a new rod is made, some must be whipped therewith, though it be but *in terrorem* of others. When these statutes were first in the state, or magisteriality thereof, they were severely put in practice on such offenders as they first lighted on; but some years after, the queen and her judges grew remiss in the execution thereof: witness the only confining of many of them to Wisbich Castle, where they fell out amongst themselves. And in king James his days this dormant law against Jesuits only awakened some once in four or five years, to shew the world that it was not dead, and then fairly fell asleep again, being very sparingly put in execution against some notorious offenders.

Worst of offenders scape best.

12. The worst was, the punishment happened heaviest on those which were the least offenders; for whereas the greatest guilt was in the senders, all the penalty fell on the messengers: I mean on such novices which, sent hither at their superiors' commands, and who, having lost their sight beyond the seas by blind obedience, came over to lose their lives in England. Now Jesuitism is a weed whose leaves, spread into our land, may be cut off, but the root thereof is out of reach, as fixed in Rome and other foreign parts; for in the mean time their superiors, staying at Rome, ate, slept, wrote, railed, complained of persecution, making of faces; and they themselves crying out "Oh!" whilst they thrust the hands of others of their own religion into the fire.

The acts of a silent convocation

13. A loud parliament is always attended with a

silent convocation, as here it came to pass[i]. The activity of the former in church matters left the latter nothing to do. Only this account I can give thereof out of our records: first, archbishop Grindal appeared not at all therein, — age, blindness, and disgrace keeping the good father at home; secondly, John Aylmer, bishop of London, was appointed his *locum tenens*, or deputy; thirdly, this convocation began in St. Paul's, (where it continued without any removal,) with reading the Litany *vulgari sermone*, in the English tongue; fourthly, the bishop commended three (namely, Dr. [Laurence] Humfrey, dean of Winchester; Dr. George[k] Day, dean of Windsor; and Dr. [Gabriel] Goodman, dean of Westminster) to the inferior clergy, to choose one of them for their referendary or prolocutor; fifthly, Dr. Day was elected[l], and presented for that office; sixthly[m], motion was made of drawing up some articles against the dangerous opinions of the Family of Love, a sect then much increasing, but nothing was effected; seventhly, at several sessions they met and prayed, and conferred, and prorogued their meeting[n], and departed; lastly, the clergy granted a subsidy, (afterwards confirmed by the parliament,) and so the convocation was dissolved.

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

[i] [Fuller has sacrificed too much to antithesis; for, as Strype observes, many weighty matters were debated in this convocation. Two authentic journals of its proceedings have been preserved and printed: one by Strype, from bishop Atterbury's Extracts, (Life of Grindal, p. 257, sq;) the other by Wilkins, in his Concilia, IV. 293.]

[k] So called by mistake in Records; otherwise his name was William.

[l] [Jan 25.]

[m] [In the third session, Jan. 27.]

[n] [On the 20th March to 25th April, 1581.]

A D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

Quære, on whom the law was first handselled.

14. Now can I not satisfy myself, on my strictest inquiry, what Jesuit or priest had the first handsel of that severe statute made against them. Indeed I find a priest, John Pain by name, executed at Chelmsford, March the 31st [o], (which was but thirteen days after the dissolution of the parliament,) for certain speeches by him uttered, but cannot avouch him for certainty tried on this statute. More probable it is that Thomas Ford, John Shert, and Robert Johnson, priests executed at London, were the first-fruits of the state's severity [p].

The death of bishop Berkely.

15. No eminent clergyman protestant died this year [q], save Gilbert Berkely, bishop of Bath and Wells, who, as his arms do attest, was allied to the ancient and honourable family of the Berkelys.

A meeting of the presbyterians at Cockfield.

16. The presbyterian party was not idle all this while, but appointed a meeting at Cockfield (Mr. Knewstub's cure) in Suffolk, where threescore ministers of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire met together, to confer of the Common Prayer-Book, what might be tolerated, and what necessary to be refused in every point of it,—apparel, matter, form, days, fastings, injunctions, &c. [r] Matters herein were carried with such secresy, that we can see no light thereof, but what only shineth through one crevice, in a private letter of one thus expressing himself to

[o] [The 2nd of April, 1582. See the diary affixed to Sanders De Schism Angl., ibid, and Bridgewater's Concertatio, f. 81, b, which contains a very full account of his trial and execution.]

[p] [See Bridgewater, ibid. f. 86, b.]

[q] [He died the year before, Nov. 2nd, 1581. See Godwin De Præsul. p 389. Strype's Annals, III. 28]

[r] [See Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, III. 2]

his friend [s]: "Concerning the meeting, I hope all "things were so proceeded in as yourself would like "of, as well for reverence to other brethren, as for "other matters. I suppose before this time some "of the company have told you by word, for that "was permitted unto you." A.D. 1580. 23 Eliz.

17. We are also at as great a loss what was the result of their meeting at the commencement at Cambridge, this being all we find thereof in a letter of one to his private friend [t]: "Concerning the com- "mencement, I like well the motion, desiring it "might so come to pass, and that it be procured to "be as general as might be; which may easily be "brought to pass, if you at London shall so think "well of it, and we here may understand your mind; "we will, we trust, as we can further it. Mr. Allen "liketh well of the matter." Another at Cambridge.

18. The year proved very active, especially in the practices of presbyterians, who now found so much favour as almost amounted to a connivance at their discipline; for whilst the severity of the state was at this time intended to the height against Jesuits, some lenity of course (by the very rules of opposition) fell to the share of the nonconformists, even on the score of their notorious enmity to the Jesuitical party. The activity of the presbyterians

19. The city of Geneva was at this time reduced to great difficulties by the Savoyard, her potent adversary, and forced to purchase peace on dear and bitter terms, saving that "extremity sweetens all Beza's letter to Travers, in the behalf of Geneva.

[s] Mr. Pigg, in his letter to Mr. Field, dated May 16. [Bancroft, ib.]

[t] Idem ibidem. [Bancroft, ib.]

A. D. 1580. 23 Eliz. "things;" and her present condition was incapable of better conditions. Hereupon Mr. Beza, the tongue and pen of that state to foreign parts, addressed himself by letter to Mr. Walter Travers, whom I may term the neck (allowing Mr. Cartwright for the head) of the presbyterian party, the second in honour and esteem, then chaplain to the lord treasurer, and of whom more hereafter. The tenor of the letter is here inserted, subscribed by Beza's own hand, (and in my possession,) which, though it be of foreign extraction, carries much in it of English concernment:

Gratiam et pacem a Domino.

Si quoties tui et C. nostri sum recordatus, mi frater, toties ad te scripsissem, jam pridem esses literis meis obrutus. Nullus enim dies abit quin de vobis vestrisque rebus solicite cogitem, quod ita postulare non amicitia modo vetus nostra, sed etiam rerum ipsarum de quibus laboratis magnitudo videatur.

Sed cum in ea tempora nos incidisse viderem, quibus silere me quam vobis scribere præstaret, silentium adhuc mihi invitissimo indixi. Nunc vero quum illum quorundam ardorem audiam per Dei gratiam defervisse nolui hunc nostrum absque meis ad te literis pervenire, quibus eundem esse me qui fui, testarer, et

Grace and peace from the Lord.

If as often, dear brother, as I have remembered thee and our Cartwright, so often I should have written unto thee, long since you had been overwhelmed with my letters; for there not passes a day wherein I do not carefully think both of you and your matters; which not only our ancient friendship, but also the greatness of those affairs wherein you take pains, seemeth so to require.

But seeing I perceive, we are fallen into those times wherein my silence may be safer for you than my writing, I have, though most unwillingly, commanded myself silence hitherto. But now, seeing that I hear that the heat of some men by God's grace is abated, I would not have this my friend come to you without my letters, that I may testify myself still the same unto you, what

abs te peterem, ut me vicissim de rebus vestris certiorem facere ne graveris. Sed et alia sese præbuit scribendi occasio, hujus videlicet reip. maximæ, imo tantæ difficultates, ut, nisi aliunde sublevetur, parva nobis admodum tuendæ in consueto statu ecclesiæ ac scholæ spes supersit; quod ita esse vel ex eo cognosces quod hæc plane inverecunda consilia capere cogamur. Nam concessæ quidem nobis sunt per Dei gratiam aliquæ induciæ, sed parum, ut apparet, firmæ futuræ, et tantis veluti redemptæ sumptibus ut in æris etiam alieni veluti freto jactati non temere naufragium metuamus.

Amabo te igitur, mi frater, et precibus assiduis nos juvare perge, et siquid præterea apud nonnullos authoritate vales, quantum nos ames in Domino, quacunque honesta ratione poteris ostende. Scripsi vero etiam ego vestris plerisque proceribus, et episcoporum quoque collegium ausi sumus communibus literis hac de re compellare: verum quod sit mearum literarum pondus futurum vel ex eo conjicio, quod cum Oxoniensi scholæ superiore vere meam sim observantiam, misso vene-

formerly I was, and that I may A. D. 1580
request of you not to think much, 23 Eliz
at his return, to certify me of your affairs. Also another occasion of writing offereth itself, namely, the great straits of this commonwealth; yea, so great, that except it be relieved from other parts, very small hope remaineth unto us to maintain the church and university in the former state thereof. That these things are so, you may know from hence that we are forced to adventure on these bold and unmannerly courses for our support; for by God's grace a kind of peace is granted unto us, but, as it seems, not likely to last long; and that also purchased at so great a price, that, tossed as it were in the sea of a great debt, we have great cause to fear shipwreck therein.

I beseech thee, therefore, my brother, both proceed to help us with thy daily prayers, and besides, if you have any power to prevail with some persons, shew us by what honest means you may how much you love us in the Lord. I also have written to most of your noble men, and we have been bold with our public letters to acquaint your college of bishops of this matter; but what weight my letters are likely to bear I can guess by this, that when, last spring, I testified my respects to the university of Ox-